THE HAZĀRAS

by

HASSAN POLADI

POLADI

THE HAZĀRAS

To

. . . the souls of hundreds of thousands of Hazara men, women, and children who lost their lives during the 1891-1893 war.

THE HAZĀRAS

by

HASSAN POLADI

Mughal Publishing Co.
Stockton, California
1989

Copyright© 1989 by Hassan Poladi Family Tı
Bank of Stockton, Stockton, California

All rights reserved.

No part of this book may be reproduced, stored ... a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form, by any means, including mechanical, electrical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission of the author or his authorized representative.

Published by:
Mughal Publishing Company
P.O. Box 7800
Stockton, CA 95207

Distributed by:
Avenue Books
840 W. Benjamin Holt Dr.
Stockton, CA 95207
(209) 462-6616

Grateful acknowledgement is made for permission to reprint materials from the following copyrighted publications and non-copyrighted, un-published materials.

1. Louis Dupree, Afghanistan, 1973, Copyright by Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J. Maps, pp. x, 58, 165 (drawn by Douglas Waugh), and photo #24 reprinted with permission of Princeton University Press.
2. Wilfred Thesiger, The Hazaras of Central Afghanistan, 1955, Geographical Journal, Vol. 121. Photographs # 2, 3, and 5 (of this book, The Hazaras) and reprinted with permission of The Geographical Journal, London, England.
3. Asia Society, Afghanistan Council (now Afghanistan Forum), New York, N.Y.
   a. Poullada, L. 1970. The Pashtun role in the Afghan Society. Occassional Paper 1, page #98, "Horizontal social groups in Afghanistan.
   b. Jung, C. L. 1972. Some observations of the patterns and processes of rural-urban migration to Kabul. Occassional Paper 2, Plate #3, page #11, "Provinces of Afghanistan".
4. Bacon, E. E. 1951, Southwestern Journal of Anthropology (now Jr. of Anthropological Research), Vol. 7, page #232, "Location of Hazara Mongol Tribes", reprinted with permission of University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N.M.
5. Schurmann, H.F. Mongols of Afghanistan, 1961, copyright by Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, W. Germany, PP 129, 192, Animal calendar and Mir's Genealogy, respectively.
6. Ferdinand, K. 1976. Photograph #5 (Hazara woman in traditional dress) provided the photograph from his own private and unpublished collection.

Library of Congress Card Catalog No. 88-092511

PUBLISHER'S CATALOGING-IN-PUBLICATION DATA.
Poladi, Hassan, 1944 -
The Hazaras.

Bibliography: 399-419 Includes index. P. 431 20.5 cm. Illustrations.
1. Hazaras. 2. History. 3. Hazarajat. 4. Minority. 5. Afghanistan.
I. Title ISBN 0-929824-00-8 LCCN 88-092511

Printed in the United States of America
First Edition 1989 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements ix

Preface xi

List of Illustrations xv

Chapter — Page

1. **The People, Hazaras** 1

   History (5), Ethnological History (12), Name (22), Physiognomy (24), Tribes and Sub-Tribes (29), References (41)

2. **The Land, Hazarajat** 45

   History (45), Boundaries (47), Administrative Division (53), Geography (53), Communication, Mountain Passes (56), Deserts (59), Rivers (60), Climate (62), Flora (63), Fauna (64), Minerals (65), Population (65), Towns and Villages (69), Places of Interest (73), References (79)

Chapter Page

3. **The Language, Hazaragi** 80

History (80), Vocabulary (84), Parts of Hazaragi Speech (89), Hazaragi Text and Poetry (97), Hazaragi/Mongolian and Hazaragi/Turkish Vocabulary (110), References (114)

4. **Religion and Superstition** 115

History (116), Belief in God (131), Prophet (132), Quran (132), Imammat (133), Mahdi (134), Sunna and Hadith (134), Mut'a or Sigha (135), Pilgrimage (143), Holidays (145), Superstitions (148), Calendar System (153), References (156)

5. **Hazaras and The Rulers of Kabul and Neighboring States: A Chronology** 158

Amir Timur: 1370-1405, (159)
Shah Rukh: 1405-1445, (159)
Mirza Aba Bakar: 1472,.(159)
Shah Beg Khan: 1509-1510, (160)
Zahir-ud-Din Babar: 1505-1530, (160)
Shah Abbas Safavi: 1588-1629, (161)
Shah Jahan, Emperor of India: 1628-1658, (162)
Mahmud, Hakim of Qandahar: 1721, (162)
Nadir Shah Afshar: 1736-1747, (162)
Ahmad Shah Durrani: 1747-1773, (163)
Zaman Shah: 1773-1793, (163)
English in Afghanistan: 1839, (164)
Yar Mohammad of Herat: 1846-1848, (164)
Dost Mohammad: 1826-1863, (164)
Murad Ali Beg of Kunduz: 1830-1840, (171)
Sher Ali Khan: 1863-1879, (171)
Amir Abdur Rahman: 1880-1901, (172)
Shah Nasir-ud-Din Qajar: 1848-1896, (172)
Amir Habibullah Khan: 1901-1919, (172)
Amanullah Khan: 1919-1929, (173)
Habibullah Khan, Bacha-e Saqow: January-October 1929, (174)
Mohammad Nadir Shah: 1929-1933, (175)
Mohammad Zahir Shah: 1933-1973, (176)

Chapter Page

5. **(Continued)**

Mohammad Daud: 1973-1978, (176)
Communist Coup: April 1978
Nur Mohammad Taraki: April 1978-September 1979, (176)
Hafizullah Amin: September-December 1979 (178)
Babrak Karmal: December 1979-May 1986, (178)
Najibullah Khan: May 15, 1986, (180)
References: (181)

6. **War of Independence** 182

The War of 1891-1893 (182); Important Events During and After the War (229); Treatment of Hazara Leaders by the Afghans (230); Sexual Abuse of Hazara Women (230); Religious Persecution of the Hazaras During and After the War (232); Hazaras War and the Neighboring Governments (233); References (235)

7. **Hazaras Slavery** 238

Slavery Before and After Hazara War of Independence (238); References (256)

8. **Hazaras in Foreign Lands** 257

Hazaras in Iran (257); In Iraq (259); In Pakistan (261); Hazara Pioneers (266); In Imperial Russian Army (269); References (270)

9. **Political and Social Organization** 271

The Village (271), Housing (278), Family (280), Interpersonal Relationships (281), Daily Chores (288), Family Life (289), Birth (290), Marriage (292), Death (294), Amusement and Recreation (296), Diet (298), Sickness and Medicine (301), Dress and Ornaments (303), Wealth (305), References (306)

Chapter Page

10. **Kinship Organization** 307
Marriage (307), Dowry (313), Divorce (314), Inheritance (316), Kinship (317), Kinship Terminology (318), Lineage and Genealogy (319), References (326)

11. **Economy** 327
Agriculture (328), Land Holding Units (328), Irrigated Farming (330), Dry Farming (332), Crops (332), Fertilizers and Manuring (333) Implements (333), Animal Husbandry (334), Handicrafts (338), Trade (342), Immigration (346), Taxation (350), References (353)

12. **Hazaras as a Minority** 355
Social Status of the Hazaras (362), In Military Service (364), In Civil and Private Service (365), In Education (366), In Industry (368), In Politics (371), Religious Freedom (372), In Arts and Communication (373), Hazarajat's Development (374), References (378)

Appendix 379

Who's Who Among Hazaras 379

Addendum 398

Bibliography 399

Index 421

About the Author 431

Acknowledgements

The author is indebted to many individuals who gave of their time and spirit. Many of these individuals worked in different libraries around the world. Although it is not possible to name everyone here, those who I have not named must know that they are still very much appreciated.

The author wishes to express his appreciation to the dedicated staff of the Olin Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, his alma mater, who provided numerous books and periodicals either from their own collections or through the inter-library loan system. Much of the research was completed during 1974-1976 at this library and the help of the staff was exceptional.

The author wishes to record his thanks to the staff at the libraries of the Universities of California, Berkeley and Davis, Princeton, and Columbia, and to the staff of public libraries in New York City, Twin Falls, Idaho, and Stockton, California. The author is also thankful to the staff of the Center for Afghanistan Studies, University of Nebraska, Omaha, who provided him many valuable Afghan Government publications.

Special thanks are owed to the staff of India Office Library,

London, England, for providing the photocopies of the Secret and Private Letters and the **Gazetteer of Afghanistan**.

It would be remiss if the author did not acknowledge the help given by his Hazara informants, Lal Mohammad Akbary, an ex-member of Afghan Parliament, and Hussain Taiby, a pharmacist, both of whom are now living in California. The author is deeply grateful to these individuals and their families for the information provided during many interviews which helped authenticate the materials in the Appendix, Who's Who Among Hazaras, Chapters 5, 11, and 12. They also provided valuable information used in other chapters of this book.

Special thanks are owed to Judy Root who typed page after page of the first and the final drafts, and to Tish Foley and Sandra Seabury for their excellent job of editing and for helpful comments to improve the text. Due to their cooperation and the technical and expert help from the printers, Gary Fonseca and Christina Aasen, it was possible to create this book in its present format.

Special thanks are also owed to Dr. Robert L. Canfield, Professor and Chairman of Department of Anthropology, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, who was kind enough to read part of the earlier draft. The author profitted immensely from his comments and suggestions. To him, the author is deeply grateful.

To a friend and fellow graduate student at Cornell University, Albert Konig of Austria, who translated all the German materials listed in the references, the author offers his sincere thanks.

The help that the author received from his late wife, Salmah, during the initial stages of collecting the research materials and the typing of the rough draft has been indispensable. The author is also grateful to his present wife, Bakhtawar, for her patience and understanding, and to his brothers and sisters-in-law, his nephews and nieces, for sharing the good times and the bad.

Finally, to his children, Imran, Sofia and Farrah, who individually and collectively helped the author by providing a peaceful atmosphere during the entire writing project, the author says simply "I love you."

Preface

It is imperative to mention here that this book was a one-man project from beginning to the end. No financial or technical assistance was provided to the author. The author bore the entire cost of production and used his own technical knowledge gained during his graduate internship at Cornell University. It is therefore his sole responsibility to accept the shortcomings of the book, whether of technical or stylistic nature.

Three objectives were set at the beginning of this project. The most important objective was to increase his knowledge about his own Hazara nation. The second objective was to bring under one cover most, if not all, of the published and unpublished materials relating to the Hazaras. The third objective for this project was to thank and acknowledge the excellent research completed by the authors mentioned in the reference section in general, and in particular to Professors Bacon, Canfield, Dulling, Efimov, Ferdinand, Iwamura, Schurmann, and Timurkhanov; they helped introduce the Hazaras to the outside world. Due to their sincere efforts and hard work, one can see an increase activity in the field of Hazara studies. The author and the entire Hazara nation are deeply indebted to these scholars for

their contribution.

One may ask how successful the author was in achieving his objectives. Even though at the onset in 1974 he was skeptical about the whole project, as time passed and the available materials started piling up, his confidence grew day by day. At the end of the project he found himself more knowledgeable than expected about his Hazara nation.

He was also able to compile materials relating to Hazaras not only from sources in the United States, but also from European and Asian countries. These included materials published in English, Russian, German, French, Italian, Japanese, Persian, Urdu and Pashtu languages. This collection included both published and unpublished works.

Through this work the author has attempted to paint a picture of the Hazara nation. In order that it may be as complete and as accurate as possible, he has not hesitated to draw on all available materials. This is one reason the reader will find a large number of direct quotations in every chapter of the book. He has attempted to make full use of the works, both general and specialized, of Bacon, Canfield, Dulling, Efimov, Ferdinand, Iwamura, Schurmann, and Timurkhanov, and of the wealth of materials by other writers appearing in the 19th and 20th centuries. This, however, does not mean that all the available resources have been exhausted and that all the works have been included in this book.

For the sake of convenience to the reader, instead of providing a glossary at the end of the book, the author has, where appropriate, provided the Hazaragi meanings of words or phrases within the text. This has been accomplished by placing the Hazaragi equivalent within parenthesis.

There has been a problem presented by the transliteration of various words and phrases of Arabic and Persian origin. To resolve this, the author followed the spelling commonly used by the people and the government of Pakistan, which, in most cases, follows the British Indian transliteration method and to which he is most familiar. A typical example would be the transliteration of the Islamic month of fasting, the Ramazan, which is consistently transliterated as Ramadan.

The author would also like to clarify the arrangement of the Appendix, Bibliography and the Index. Since the majority of Afghans in general, and the Hazaras in particular, do not use a family name or surname, the names in the Appendix, Who's Who Among Hazaras, were alphabetized on the two-part first name basis. This was the most logical way to accomplish the task. Further, it should also be pointed out that the word "Khan" which appears after almost every prominent Afghan, including some Hazaras, is not a surname and therefore was not used in the Bibliography or Index.

Throughout this book the author has attempted, as far as possible, to supress his emotions and his own views, and simply act as a compiler of factual data needed to complete the book. The objective of this book was not to prove or disprove theories or hypotheses, nor to insult or hurt someone's feelings through criticism. At times, it was extremely painful to suppress his feelings, especially when writing Chapters 6 and 7, The Hazara War and Hazara Slavery, as these issues have left deep scars in the hearts and minds of every Hazara. The author hopes that the readers of this book will appreciate the pain that he carries in his heart and forgive the outpouring of his emotions.

Thus, under the best auspices, this book is sent forth to the world, in the hopes that it may contribute to the sum total of accurate knowledge about the Hazaras, about whom so many wild and inaccurate statements have been made. It is the author's hope that this book will help to solve the mystery surrounding the origin of the Hazara race and nation, and to improve the relationship between the Hazaras and any antagonistic ethnic groups.

The author is immensely pleased and satisfied to see that all his objectives were fulfilled and that he is leaving behind a humble contribution to his Hazara nation. He is confident that this book will not be the first nor the last comprehensive study of the Hazaras, and that this book will establish guidelines for further investigation.

Hassan Poladi
December 1988.

List Of Illustrations

MAPS

Page

1. Location of Hazara Tribes 33
2. Administrative Division of Hazarajat 54
3. Hazarajat Roads & Mountain passes 58
4. Nomadic Movements in Hazarajat 331

TABLES

1. Hazara Kinship Terminology 320
2. Afghanistan Horizontal Social Groups.............. 363

PHOTOGRAPHS

1. Hazara Musician Playing Dombura 103
2. Hazara Village with Watchtower 273
3. Dome-shaped houses in Dai Zangi Region 275

4. Hazara Woman in Traditional Dai Zangi Dress...... 304
5. Hazara Woman Weaving "Barak" Cloth............ 340

CHARTS

1. Hazara Tribal Formation........................ 323
2. Hazara Mir's Genealogy 325

1

The People, Hazāras

Hazaras are among those few races on the face of the earth of whose origin so little is known. In the absence of their own literature and in the light of scanty material from non-Hazara sources, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to come to any definite conclusion about the ethnic history of the Hazaras. It is a painstaking job to determine at what time and from where they came into their present habitat because it is difficult to write about the whole period from creation to the 15th century, from which date the first authenticated reference to Hazaras occurs. Thus, it is impossible for students and scholars of Hazara history to write a definitive internal and external history of this race, for there exist no ancient documents concerning them.

Modern theories and opinions are divided over the question as to whether the Hazaras are descended from, or at least closely related to, the Mongols who conquered their present habitat in the 13th and 14th centuries. While some of these theories are based on the Hazara traditions, most of them are supported by the historical documents of past centuries. These theories could be classified into the following groups:

- Hazaras as natives of Hazarajat
- Hazaras as pure Mongols
- Hazaras as Turco-Mongols
- Hazaras as Tajiks
- Hazaras as other ethnic groups in the East

Hazaras as Natives of Hazarajat

Though not very popular, this theory suggests that the Hazaras did not come from foreign lands to their present habitat but have been living here from time immemorial. This theory was first forwarded by the Frenchman Ferrier, who travelled in parts of Hazarajat in the first half of the 19th century. Ferrier believed that the Hazaras lived in the same place even in the time of Alexander the Great. He based his opinion on the Greek historian Curtsius' description of Alexander's winter march through the central part of Afghanistan. He believed that the present-day Hazaras are the descendants of those people.[1] None of the 19th and 20th century writers support Ferrier's theory except an Afghan scholar, Professor Shah. This writer not only supports Ferrier's views but also furnishes some other interesting points. He believes that the Hazaras are the original inhabitants of the present day habitat and the word Hazaras is the modified name for the second capital of ancient Arachozia, Herola, or Ozola. He gives the meaning of Hazara as "Happy," "Good," and "Fame."[2] In recent years, a Western scholar, Fletcher, also supported this theory, believing that the Hazaras are the original inhabitants of Hazarajat and that they were present there centuries before the Mongol conquest.[3]

Hazaras as Pure Mongols

During the first half of the 19th century, when European and other Western travelers came to Afghanistan, they found large numbers of Mongoloid people among the Caucasian groups. It was during this era that the theory of Hazaras as Mongolian people flourished. No doubt the Hazaras traditions, in addition to their physiognomy, aided these Westerners in their theories. This is the most common and popular theory and has been quoted by the majority of the writers in the years following.

One of the most enthusiastic proponents of this theory is Bellew. In his opinion, the Hazaras are of pure Mongol origin as they were left by the Great Khan. Chengiz Khan left ten such detachments here, nine of them in the Hazara of Kabul, and the tenth in the Hazara of Pakli to the east of the River Indus.[4] This opinion that Hazaras are the descendants of the armies of Chengiz Khan was further supported by 19th century writers, Vanbery,[5] Burnes,[6] and 20th century writers Fraser-Tytler,[7] Hacker,[8] Fox,[9] Iwamura,[10] and Macmunn.[11]

Regarding the tradition that the Hazaras are of pure Mongolian origin, there is a difference of opinion about who brought them to their present habitat. The first historical document which opposed the theory that the Mongol soldiers were brought to these areas by Chengiz Khan was Abul Fazl, a court minister of Akbar, the emperor of India. According to him the Hazaras are the descendants of the Chaghatai army, sent by Mangu Khan to assist Hulaku Khan. These troops were sent to these parts under the command of his son Nikodar Oghlan.[12] This theory was recently supported by a Russian scholar, Petrushevsky, who postulated that the Hazaras are the descendants of the Nikudarian Hordes who migrated to central Afghanistan in the 13th century. He based his theory on historical sources that show there were large numbers of Mongol settlements in Iran and the neighboring countries as a result of numerous campaigns.[13]

Yule, in the 19th century, supported this theory, saying that the Hazaras, as a whole, or some part of them, are the descendants of Karaunahs or the Nikudaris, or of both, and that the origination of the bands so called was from the scum of the Mongol inundation.[14]

Boyle believed that the Hazaras are the descendants of the Nikudari Mongols who had a nomadic existence in Afghanistan and did not recognize the authority of Ilkhans into Khurasan, Sistan, Kirman, and Fars.[15]

This theory that the Hazaras are Mongols and that they were not brought to their present habitat by Chengiz Khan but during later times is further supported by well documented research of Bacon. She believed that they are the descendants of the Mongol troops, many of them Chaghataians. These Mongols entered Afghanistan at various times during the period from 1229 to about 1447.[16]

Thesiger believed that the Mongols were settled in the heart of Afghanistan by either Chaghatai, Chengiz Khan's son, or by Mangu, his grandson, on the land of Ghoris, who were largely exterminated during the Mongol invasions.[17]

Elias, while discussing the origin of the Hazaras, supported the theory that they are of pure Mongolian origin and of the same features and build as the Mongols in Mongolia. His theory is that they are the

descendents of the remnants of the army of Nikudar Oghlan, a son of Hulaku, who invaded the region in which they dwell now, during the latter half of the 13th century.[18]

While most authors relate the Hazaras to the armies brought to Afghanistan by the Mongol leaders of the earlier period of the 13th century, Burnes claims that they are the descendants of not only Chengiz Khan but also of Timurlang, who left 1,000 families behind.[19]

Hazaras as Turco-Mongols

Several authors do not agree with the commonly held theory that the Hazaras are of pure Mongolian origin. Rather, they suggest another theory, the theory of Turco-Mongolian ancestry for the Hazaras. Prominent among these scholars is Professor Dorn, who believes that the Hazaras are the descendents of several waves of Turco-Mongolian settlers who successively moved to the territory of modern Afghanistan primarily during the reign of Mangu Khan, 1284-1291.[20] On the other hand, Macmunn, who believes that the Hazaras were brought to their present country by Chengiz Khan, considers them to be of pure Turkish origin planted in between Ghazni, Qandahar and Herat. He based his theory on the physiognomy of the Hazaras.[21]

Hazaras as Tajiks

A noted Russian, Snesarev, has rejected the theories of Mongol or Turco-Mongol ancestors of the Hazaras. Instead, he believes that the Hazaras are distantly related to the Mongols, but are strongly infused with Tajik blood.[22]

This theory of predominant Tajik influence was also supported by Timurkhanov, who believed that the Hazaras are a people formed as a result of synthesis of Mongol and local, chiefly Tajik elements.[23]

Besides these Russian scholars, Professor Schurmann was of the same opinion that the Hazaras are the descendants of a composite group consisting of an Iranian, or Proto-Tajik sub-stratum with a heavy Mongol overlay. He based his theory on the ethnographic evidence, such as their way of life and agricultural implements, which are similar to the mountain Tajiks. He further supports his theory by mentioning a small group among Dai Kundi called Tajik.[24]

Hazaras as Tibetan and Gorkha

Several scholars familiar with the natives of the Himalayan region have related the Hazaras to either the Tibetans or Nepalese Gorkhas.

Vigne was the first among the group who advanced this theory. He suggested that they are related to the Gorkhas of Nepal, as they are physically similar to each other.[25] This theory was later supported by Bellew, who called them the Gorkhas of the West. He suggested that they were of the same race and that they resembled the Gorkhas in their features, except that Hazaras were of fair complexion.[26] Mohan Lal, an Indian historian, also supported this theory.[27]

On the other hand, Moorcraft considered the Hazaras as related to Tibetans instead of the Mongols.[28] This relationship was further supported by Trinklel, who found a strong resemblance of Hazaras to Tibetans.[29]

In contrast to these theories a recent Russian scientific team has studied the Hazaras of Jaghuri, Besud, Uruzgan and Ghorband, and based on their findings, they disagreed with the above theory. Instead, they concluded that the Mongoloids of Central Asia, whose contemporary representatives are the Mongols, Burats, Yakuts, Tuvinians, South Altaians, and, to lesser degree, the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, contributed in the formation of the Hazaras ethnogenesis and not the Mongoloids of the Himalaya.[30]

Bellew, who was the first to put forward the theory of pure Mongolian origin of the Hazaras, also related some of the Hazara sub-tribes of Dai Chopan to the Indian tribe of Rajput. For example, Babuk for Bhiba Rajput and Bachak for Bachal Rajput, were formerly associated with the Batani Buddhists when they occupied this tract of country.[31] He further related the Shaikh Ali to the Greek Aioloi.[32] Woods related the tribe of Shaikh Ali to the Kirghiz inhabiting the Pamirs.[33]

Who, then, are the Hazaras? When, and from where, did they come to their present habitat? It is hard to answer these question, but a thorough review of available literature might lead us to draw a tentative conclusion about their origin.

History

After the death of Chengiz Khan in 1227, the empire, because of its vastness, was divided among his four sons.. Although d'Ohsson doesn't agree that the conquered territories south of Oxus were included among the royal appanages,[34] Elias strongly supports that these areas were included in the total appanages. According to Elias, Chaghatai, the second son, whose Central Kingdom, Maver al-Naher or Transoxiana, was situated chiefly between the river Sir and Amu the

Oxus. It also included, in its extension toward the northeast, the hill range and steppes lying beyond the right bank of Dir, east of Kipchak plains--while towards the south, it embraced Kunduz, Balkh, and at the outset, Khurasan--a country which, at that time, spread eastward to beyond Herat and Ghazni and southward to Mekran.[35] Oliver extends the eastern frontier of the Chaghataian empire to the banks of the Indus.[36]

After his father's death in 1229, Prince Ogotai became the emperor and continued the policy of invading foreign lands and keeping peace in the conquered territories. He dispatched several armies for this purpose. One of them was sent to Ghazni under the command of the Mongol leader, Mangutah. A second army was sent to Herat and Sistan under the command of Tair Bahadur, who later joined the Mongol forces in Ghazni.[37] As most of these armies were under the Mongol governor, Mangutah, who was in control of the areas northeast of the modern day Afghanistan, it seems that they remained in the area and were used for several expeditions toward India. Minhaj-ud-Din mentioned one such expedition in the year 1241 in which the Mongol forces stationed in Ghazni, as well as the forces in Ghur, took part.[38]

On the death of Chengiz Khan, the steppe country north of the Oxus was given in appanage to his son, Chaghatai.

In the East, in the land of Chaghatai, the Chaghataian Mongols were looking towards India. They crossed the Hindu Kush at frequent intervals in the hope of gaining for themselves the riches of India. Between 1282 and 1306 no less than nine major expeditions crossed the Indus.[39] Although they were never able to conquer India, they did gain control over the gates of India. The headquaters of the Mongol hordes which attacked India during 1296-1301 were, for many years, apparently at Ghazni.[40]

Little is known of the way in which Chaghatai disposed of his kingdom at death. He was succeeded by a grandson, a minor, named Qara Hulaku, while his widow Ebuskun assumed the regency. Ebuskun's reign was a short one. Hulaku and Ebuskun were replaced by Isu Mangu who, in 1252, restored Hulaku and Ebuskun to their former dignities. Hulaku died within a few months of his restoration. His throne passed over to his widow, Organah Khatun. Isu Mangu died in 1259, and Organah Khatun was driven from Almaligh by Algu (a great-grandson of Chengiz Khan), who later married her. Both, however, died within a few months, and we find at this stage, Qublai, Mangu's son, as the Khaqan of Marco Polo. At the death of Algu, Qublai nominated Mubarak Shah, a son of Algu and Organah, to the Chaghatai succession. But soon another grandson of Chaghatai, named Barak, drove him from the throne and became the Khan. He died, perhaps by poisoning, in 1270. In the same year, a grandson of Chaghatai, Nikpai, became the chief of the tribe and revolted against Qublai, and was killed and succeeded by Tuka Timur in 1271. Tuka Timur was, in less than two years, ousted by Dava Khan, the son of Barak. His reign was the longest ever enjoyed by a descendant of Chaghatai; he reigned for some thirty-two years and was almost constantly at war. He possessed himself of Ghazni, and from this stronghold, as a base, made several expeditions into India. The death of Dava Khan occurred in 1306, and he was succeeded by his son, Kuyuk Khan, who lived only two years, and was in his turn, followed by a descendant of Chaghatai named Taliku. This prince is said to have adopted the Muslim religion and, in consequence, have been put to death by his officers, who raised in his place one Kabak, a son of Dava. Kabak, was installed in 1309, and within a year of his installation, he made way for an elder brother, who ascended the throne of the Chaghatai under the name of Esan Buqa. In 1321 Kabak once again resumed the throne which he had abdicated 12 years earlier.[41]

It was about this time that a permanent division occurred in the realm of Chaghatai, the two parts being known by the general names of Maver al-Naher or Transoxiana, and Mughalistan or Jatah, though there were other provinces attached to each. In Maver al-Naher, from the time of this division forward (the fifty years that remained until the great Amir Timur made himself master of the land), confusion and discord prevailed. During these years the names of fifteen Khans appeared on the lists. The rise of Timur was the turning point from decadence to power in Maver al-Naher, at the same time, the death blow to the original line of Chaghatai.[42]

Dava, the Chaghataian ruler of Maver al-Naher (1273-1306), granted one of his sons, Qutlugh Khoja, the countries of Ghazni, Sistan, Balkh and Badakhshan as an appanage in the 1290's. To control such a large area, he also sent an army consisting of 50,000 men. Qutlugh Khoja selected Ghazni as his winter capital, moving to Ghur and Ghajristan in the summer.[43] After the death of Qutlugh Khoja in the early years of the 14th century, this appanage passed to his son, Daud Khoja.

While leaving the Chaghatai rulers of Central Afghanistan we will

turn to the affairs of the Mongols in Persia. After the death of Ogotai, his son, Mangu Khan, ascended the imperial throne in 1251. Mangu Khan was crowned in 1250. He sent his brother, Qublai to the east and Hulaku to the west to make further conquests.[44] He dispatched several expeditions to the west to Iran and the Muslim Caliphate at Baghdad under his brother, Hulaku, who arrived in the West in the year 1256, conquered Iran, and was able to establish a Mongol empire which later became known as the Ilkhans of Persia and ruled that country for about one hundred years. While these armies were sent to overrun Western Persia, other Mongol armies were sent into the districts of Kabul, Ghazni and Zabulistan.[45] Hulaku Khan was followed by his son, Abaka Khan, on the throne of Persia. After the death of Abaka, Arghun Khan became the Ilkhan of Persia. He was followed by his son, Ghazan Khan, who was appointed by his father as governor of Khurason at the age of ten under the tutelage of Amir Naoruz. For 39 years Ghazan Khan governed various Persian provinces.[46] Ghazan Khan was not only the greatest of the Ilkhans but also one of the most important figures in Eastern history.[47] On Ghazan's death, his brother, Khuda Bandah, succeeded him in 1304 and adopted the name of Sultan Uljaitu. He was the third son of Ilkhan Arghun, and soon after he became king of Persia, he showed interest in the eastern flanks of his empire.

The Ilkhans' attention toward the East was caused primarily by the disturbances of the Nikudari Mongols who had created a state of anarchy in southeastern Afghanistan and Sistan. The Nikudaris came to these areas in the 1260's under the commands of three Juchid princes: Balaghai, Tutar and Quli, the grandsons of Juchi, who accompanied Hulaku to Persia. These princes were accused and convicted of sorcery and were either executed or poisoned. After the death of the princes, their troops fled, some by way of Khurasan to the Ghazni region led by a general called Nikudar. Bellew mentioned Nikudar, a son of Hulaku Khan, who held Qandahar and Ghor country as his provincial government before he ascended the throne of Persia in 1282 as the ninth emperor of the Chengiz Khan dynasty.[48] Thus, the descendants of Nikudar and his followers who settled in these territories came to be known as Nikudaris. The flight of these troops was apparently consequent upon a battle fought sometime in the fall of 1262.[49]

In a few years the Nikudaris established themselves in the southern part of the present-day Afghanistan and from there attacked the Ilkhan territories. Because they did not recognize the Ilkhan authority in the regions of Khurasan, Sistan, Kirman and Fars,[50] in the winter of 1278-1279 a force of Nikudaris invaded Kirman and Fars.[51]

In the last years of his reign, the Ilkhan Uljaitu's attention was directed eastward. His annexation in 1313 of the Nikudari territories in Southern Afghanistan provoked an invasion of Khurasan by a Chaghataian army led by Kabak, the brother of Khan, Esan Buqa.[52] After defeating the Chaghataian forces, their leader, Daud Khoja, was forced to flee north of the Oxus. After annexing that region to his empire, Uljaitu appointed Yassa'ur, a grandson of Baidur, Chaghatai's sixth son, and granted him as an appanage the country between Balkh, Kabul, Badakhshan and Qandahar.[53] Uljaitu granted him this region as a reward for transferring his allegiance from his Chaghataian family to the Ilkhanid of Persia. By granting this region to Yassa'ur, Uljaitu eliminated the Nikudari problem and their everyday raids on the eastern flanks of his empire.

Yassa'ur governed this region for a while and brought peace to his country. While watching the political developments in the Chaghataian's territory in the north and Ilkhanid in the west, he increased his forces considerably. Uljaitu was succeeded by his son Abu Sa'id, a youth of twelve years of age under the tutelage of Amir Chopan, who had been his tutor and generalissimo of his army. Amir Chopan was later killed by Ghias-ud-Din Kurd (Kurt) of Herat on orders from Abu Sa'id. The reason for his execution was his refusal to give his daughter in marriage to Abu Sa'id and his subsequent flight to Herat.[54] When Yassa'ur noticed a decline in the interest of Ilkhans in the eastern part of the empire, he declared himself an independent ruler of the region. He invaded and ravaged Mazendaran. This happened during the reign of Ilkhan Abu Sa'id, son of Uljaitu who succeeded his father on the Persian throne. Abu Sa'id sent his general Amir Hussain into Garm-Sir (a hot region bordering the Persian Gulf) and forced Yassa'ur to retire to his base.[55] Once again, Yassa'ur tried to become independent and throw off the yoke of Ilkhanid as well as Chaghataian. This time he faced a combined force of Ilkhanid and Chaghataian at Qandahar and was killed. It is said that the leaders of Yassa'ur's forces were bribed by their enemies and no military engagements took place after the death of Yassa'ur.[56]

After the defeat of Yassa'ur, the country was annexed to the Ilkhanid empire and was given to a Chaghataian prince. In 1326, during Abu Sa'id's reign, a Khan of Transoxiana invaded the area but

was defeated near Ghazni by Amir Hussain, the son of Amir Chopan. After defeating the Khan, Amir Hussain returned to Herat.[57]

With the death of Abu Sa'id in 1334, the Mongol Ilkhanid of Persia started declining. Although several other rulers came to power under the title of Ilkhan, none was able to govern Persia effectively. The Ilkhanid empire was divided into petty dynasties: (1) the Muzzaffaris, ruler of Fars, Iraq-i Ajam and Kirman; (2) the Jala'irs of Baghdad and Azarbaijan; (3) the Sarbadars of Sabzwar and (4) the Kurts of Herat.[58]

While the empire of Hulaku and his descendants in Persia ended within a century, the Chaghataians were not much more fortunate in ruling Maver al-Naher. Within a century after Chaghatai's death (1241) the princes had entirely forsaken the desert tribes to visit and linger in the most luxuriant plains of Maver al-Naher. Chaghatai lived among his Mongol tribesmen and followers, the mainstay of his power who were passionately fond of his life on the steppes. Chaghatai and his immediate successors probably saw that the one way of retaining the allegiance of their own people was to humor their desires in this respect and to live with them in a nomad's life instead of living in the palaces of Bokhara and Samarkand.[59] In the end, these princes became mere puppets in the hands of powerful Amirs, who set them up and disposed of or murdered them at pleasure, until finally came the famous Timur, who permitted them no actual authority whatsoever. Over Khurasan and the territories beyond the Hazara range, all Mongol influence may be said to have ended with Chaghatai.[60]

While the powers of the family of Chengiz Khan were declining in the north and in the west, Herat was effectively under the control of the Kurt dynasty. They were the nominal vassals of the Persian Ilkhans. This dynasty was finally overrun by a Turk prince of Maver al-Naher, Timur, of Barlas tribe, in the year 1381. After capturing Herat and surrounding regions, he put to death the last surviving member of the Kurt dynasty.[61] Before returning to his capital of Samarkand in 1399, Timur appointed his grandson, Pir Mohammad, governor of Kabul, Ghazni, and the regions extending to the banks of the Indus, the land once governed by Subuktagin. For Pir Mohammad's guidance, Timur also left some of his best statesmen and generals to form the young prince's retinue.[62] Timur also appointed Amir Jaku as governor of Kunduz, Bukelan and the region bordering Kabul, which covered the whole region of Badakhshan and sent with him a large army to protect these places.[63]

After Timur died in 1405 at Ostrar, he was succeeded by his son, Shah Rukh, who moved his capital from Samarkand to Herat and ruled Turkistan and eastern Iran until 1447. He sent garrisons to collect tributes from the tribes of the mountain region north of Qandahar and Ghazni.[64]

The Timurid dynasty was weakened by the Mongol Shaibanids from the North and by Shah Ismail Safavi from Persia.[65] Shah Rukh's successors moved the capital back to Samarkand, leaving Herat and the neighboring regions to the mercies of the neighboring powers. About 1472, Mirza Aba Bakr, the ruler of Yarkand and Kashghar, attacked several districts of Badakhshan which were populated by the people known as Hazaras.[66] In the summer of 1510 Shahi Beg Shaibani, the ruler of Samarkand and Bokhara, attacked the central mountain range of Afghanistan whose inhabitants were the descendants of Hulaku. Shahi Beg was very disappointed and withdrew after not finding them.[67]

In the early years of the 16th century, a small dynasty of Arghun came into existence. Its founder was Dhul Nun Beg Arghun, a descendant of Ilkhans who was governor of Ghur and Sistan. After defeating the Nikudaris and the Hazaras, he extended his domain to include the region of Zabulistan and Garm-Sir. Taking Qandahar as his capital, he made himself independent and, with the help of his son, Shah Beg, extended his rule southward to the Bolan Pass and Swistan. In 1498-1499 he invaded Herat. He was, however, defeated by Shah Ismail, the founder of the Safavi dynasty, and in 1510 the captured territories of Khurasan and Herat passed into Ismail's hands.[68]

In the year 1506, another Timurid prince, Babar, appeared in the region of central Afghanistan. After he was expelled from Turkistan he gained control of Kabul and attacked the local population of the central mountains several times.[69] These people he called by the name Hazara.

During this brief description of the history of Chaghataian and Ilkhanid Mongols activities from the 13th to the 16th centuries, the word "Hazara" came into the picture for the first time during Timur's campaign north of Qandahar in the 1390's.[70] He asked the Hazara tribes for the payment of tribute and, on their refusal, their lands were laid waste and they were forced to take refuge further north into the mountains. When, in the year 1472, the ruler of Bokhara invaded Badakhshan, he found the area inhabited by the tribes known as Hazaras.[71] When Babar, another Timurid Turk, invaded Kabul in

1506, he found a distinct people called Hazaras, which inhabited the western mountain range of Kabul.[72]

Ethnological History of Hazaras

It took the Hazaras about two centuries from Chengiz's arrival in 1220 to the invasions of Timur in 1400 to emerge as a nation. Apparently the main body of the Hazaras had already settled in the territory of Hazarajat by the middle of the 14th century, as a result of former contacts between the Mongol troops and the local ethnic elements.[73]

The first time the terms "Hazara" and "Sada" appear is in the middle of the 13th century,[74] and the name of the country, Hazarajat, first appears in the second half of the 16th century.[75]

Thus, in the middle of the 14th century, the formation of a core of Hazara people existed as a result of the synthesis of various ethnic elements. Obviously, before this, a Hazara ethnic self-perception had formed and neighboring people began, in connection with this, to use the term "Hazara" for the designation of the already developed ethnic community in the territory of contemporary central Afghanistan.[76]

In the formation of this nation, the Mongol soldiers stationed in the territories of Kabul, Ghazni, Ghur and Khurasan, without any doubt, had played an important role. These soldiers were stationed by Chengiz Khan along with his governors (Darughas) in these conquered regions. Though several modern-day scholars agree that Chengiz Khan did leave behind his governors, they question, however, whether he stationed any of his troops in the region. It is hard to imagine that a person like Chengiz Khan would leave his trusted men among the hostile people without a large number of his soldiers. He knew very well that he had slaughtered most of the inhabitants of these regions, and leaving his governors without strong military support could prove disastrous. Such an incident did occur in 1221, when, after appointing a governor over Ghazni, he marched towards Indus. While he was busy fighting at the banks of the Indus, the people of Ghazni found the Mongol governor without military support and revolted against him.[77] Another revolt against a Mongol governor occurred in Herat.[78] These incidents happened while Chengiz Khan was still in the neighboring countries and, in light of these uprisings of the local population, it is appropriate to assume that he left his governors with strong military support. Before returning to Mongolia, he ordered each of his four sons to furnish 1,000 men, who were to plant themselves in the

districts of Shiberghan, Talikan, Ali-abad, Gaunk, Bamian and Ghazni.[79]

After his father's death, Ogotai sent several expeditions toward the west and southwest. One of these armies was sent to Herat and Sistan, who, according to Minhaj-ud-Din, joined the Mongol forces stationed at Ghazni.[80] This indicates that the Mongol governor of the region was left behind with a strong force.

The Chaghataian rulers of Maver al-Naher tried again and again to capture India, making Ghazni and Ghur countries their army bases. Though these expeditions towards India were unsuccessful, they paved the way for annexation of these regions in the Chaghataian empire. This region was later (1290) given as an appanage to Qutlugh Khoja and was supported with a strong army of 50,000 men.[81] These Mongol soldiers were stationed in the different parts of the country which, according to Bacon, were within the lands of the modern Hazarajat.[82]

Beside the Chengiz Khanid and Chaghataian Mongols, a very important role was also played by the Ilkhanid Mongols of Persia. Of special interest are the activities of Ilkhanid Mongols in Khurasan, the northeastern province of Persia. This province, although the region of Badghis, was governed by the Ilkhanid governors. Badghis was especially mentioned as the headquarters for the Ilkhanid Mongol garrisons.[83]

Rebellion was a common occurrence among the dissatisfied Mongol comanders and governors. Worth mentioning among them were the ones which happened in the eastern Persian province of Khurasan. Several rebellions occurred during the reign of Ilkhans.[84] These rebellions were crushed by the Ilkhans, and to avoid punitive retaliation of the Ilkhans, these fugitives had only one choice: to escape to the mountain range east of Khurasan, i.e., the central region of Afghanistan.

While the Mongol powers concentrated in Persia and Maver al-Naher, the countries between Ghur, Balkh, Ghazni and Herat had a considerable number of Mongol troops. When Yassa'ur rebelled, the Ilkhan Uljaitu and the Chaghataian ruler of Maver al-Naher sent a force of 40,000 men to Qandahar. They would not have sent such a large number of soldiers unless they had to face a large Mongolian force under Yassa'ur. Keeping this point in mind, Bacon suggested that the Mongol troops were both numerous and well entrenched in the Qandahar Ghazni region.[85]

Equally important was the presence of Nikudari Mongols, who led a nomadic existence in southern Afghanistan and who raided several eastern Persian provinces in the years of 1278-1279.[86] These Nikudari hords were the Mongols who, having broken away from the Hulakuid Ulus, settled in eastern Khurasan (in contemporary Afghanistan). In order to raid an Ilkhanid province, they must have been in large number. They have played an important role, as will be shown in the proceeding paragraphs, in the ethnogenesis of the Hazara people who are considered to be the descendants of these Nikudaris.[87]

In 1383, Timur, having conquered Sistan, divided it between his military leaders, Miran Shah and Amir Mohammad and sent them for the subjugation of the Nikudaris, who at that time inhabited the regions of Qandahar and Garm-Sir.[88] The blow which Timur's forces directed at the Nikudaris forced a significant portion of them to relocate in the territory of contemporary Hazarajat. The portions of the Nikudaris displaced into Hazarajat territory became one of the principal elements which played a part in the formation of the Hazaras.[89] They were the last remnants of the Mongols in Afghanistan, as witnessed by Babar in the 16th century.[90] During their operation in the conquered regions of Ghazni, Ghur and Khurasan Mongol troops were dispatched to every part, and a great segment of the local population were slaughtered or made captive.[91]

When Chengiz Khan conquered the region between Balkh, Kabul, Ghazni and Herat, it was inhabited by people of Turkish origin. This region was the center of Ghaznavid and Ghurid, both of the Turkish dynasties. These Turks governed this region for about two centuries and consequently encouraged the settlement of Turks, especially the Khalajs and Qarluqs, from Central Asia.[92] Though many of them, along with the original inhabitants, were massacred, especially in towns, it seems that the region was still populated.[93] For the next few centuries the Mongols had to intermingle with these Turkish and other segments of the population. This social contact played an important role in Hazara ethnogenesis.

The Turkish people seemed to be spread unevenly throughout the region. In some areas, especially in the south, toward Ghazni and Qandahar, and in the north, toward Balkh, there was a higher concentration of this group. Turco-Khalajs and Qurluqs, who had settled some regions of central and southern Afghanistan before the beginning of the Mongol conquest, took part in the ethnogenesis of the Hazaras.[94] Naturally, in these regions the Mongol people were more influenced by Turkish people than those who settled in the interior central mountain regions. This cultural influence had a great effect on the physiognomy of the Hazara people of these regions. The Jaghuri Hazaras of the south and Shaikh Ali Hazaras of the north show the result of such a peculiar type of intermixture.[95]

Besides the Turkish people living in these regions, the Turkish among the Mongol armies also played a great part in the Hazara ethnology. When Chengiz Khan emerged as a conqueror, he succeeded in welding almost all the steppe tribes into a single unit and led them out to conquer the world. Thereafter, the eastern Turks, Tatars and Mongols formed one unit and their names were often mingled.[96] The Mongols had been Turcicized at an early date, for no more than one-tenth of their armies had ever been composed of Mongols, the rest were Turks, Kipchaks, Turkmans and Uigurs.[97] From the very first stages of the Hazara ethnogenesis, the Mongol influence interacted with Turkish and Tajik components. As Juvaini has noted, the soldiers of Mongol chiefs sent to conquer Iran and contemporary Afghanistan were made up, not only of Mongols, but mostly of "sons of Tajik and Turk."[98] The mass of Chaghataian were more Turkish than Mongolian though their chiefs were more often Mongolian.[99]

The Mongol commanders knew the importance of the small numbers of the Mongol soldiers. They were extremely careful of the lives of their men. Their number being limited, they had to be used with care. Still the great enterprise could not be achieved without enormous losses and the bones of Mongol soldiers were sprinkled thick in every clime. Their gain was transitory and their extinction was final. A century after Chengiz Khan we find the descendants of the steppe chiefs settled comfortably as a landed aristocracy in all countries from the Volga River to the Takla Makan Desert, but the soldiery of the Mongolian steppe had practically ceased to exist. A sprinkling of Mongoloid features is the only trace they left in the conquered land.[100]

Though Mongol armies were racially heterogenous, when they joined under one chief, they began to talk as if they were of one blood, much as an army unit of today begins to develop a feeling of brotherhood. The calculation of blood relation was not important for the common member of an Ulus but for the chiefs only.[101] Thus, when these heterogenous Mongol armies settled in the mountain regions between the countries of Ghur and Kabul, Ghazni and Balkh, the result was the formation of the Hazara nation. Besides the contribution of

these Turkish dominated Mongol armies, the Hazara ethnogenesis was also influenced in later days by pure Turkish armies sent to these regions. When Timur's general Pir Mohammad Jahangir received the areas between Qandahar and the banks of Indus, he moved several detachments of his soldiers and their families to these regions.[102]

Besides the physiognomy of the Hazaras, Turkish influence could also be found in the language and the tribal names. One of the largest Hazara tribes is Dai Zangi. Zangi is a common name among the Turks of Central Asia. Turkman is another Hazara tribe. The Jaghuri sub-tribe of Tughai Bugha claim their descent to Timur commander Butai Beg.[103] Some of the Hazaras tribes still use the Turkish titles for their elders. For example, the Turkman sub-tribe of Shaikh Ali use Aksakal (white beard)[104] and the Besud use Asqal.[105] Also, the Hazara language, Hazaragi, has influence from Turkish, especially in the names of plants and animals.

Tajiks are among the nations which have had a great influence on the formation of the Hazara people. Their language, customs, agricultural practices and village life changed the nomad Mongols on their arrival in the contemporary Hazarajat. When Mongol armies conquered the regions south of Oxus, Tajiks were the most dominant indigenous inhabitants of the region. They were concentrated to the north, west and east of the kingdom of Ghur.[106] Even centuries after the Mongol conquest, Tajiks constituted the largest part of town and village population of the region.[107] Soon after the Mongol invasion of the region, a Tajik dynasty of Kerts rose in Herat and governed the region from 1245-1381. They were nominally vassals of the Ilkhans of Persia, and became independent in 1332, their independence lasting until they were conquered by Timur in 1381.[108] In the 19th century, observers found the Tajiks living side by side with Jaghatu Hazaras in the vicinity of Ghazni.[109] Until the present time Tajik is the name of the sub-tribe of Hazara of Shahristan, and there were several villages in Dai Kundi occupied by this sub-tribe.[110] The occurrence of the tribal name "Tajik" indicates a remnant Tajik sub-stratum. It is this Tajikoid element which furnished the Mongol invaders with most of their present cultural elements, including language. This intermingling of the Mongol invaders with an aboriginal Tajikoid population resulted in the synthesis of the present-day Hazaras.[111]

Subordinate groups among the Dai Kundi Hazaras, the Tajiks, reveal a social structure basically similar to that of the Tajiks. Thus, the conquerors became the ruling group (the Daulat Begs), while the

conquered, indigenous population (the Tajiks) became the subordinate group.[112]

When these Turco-Mongol armies settled in the contemporary Hazarajat, they found themselves surrounded by an overwhelming majority of Tajik people, for it was on their territory that the latter settled, by conquest, by infiltration, and by seizure of territory.[113] During the next few generations, because of their intermingling with the indigenous population, they came under the influence of Tajik culture. They not only accepted the Tajik language, but also their pattern of settlement, agricultural practices, customs and handicrafts. Timurkhanov believed that when the borrowed Tajiks' culture mixed with the culture of the Mongols, it created a new culture and way of life for the Hazara people. Thus, the foundation of Hazara culture arose first and foremost from the cultural legacy of the settled Tajik population which was prevalent in former times in the territory of Hazarajat, and which occupies many of the neighboring territories in present times.[114]

The influence of Tajiks on Hazara's ethnogenesis is so significant that it has led some scholars to deny the Mongol ancestry of the Hazaras. Thus, a Soviet scholar, Snesarev, propounded his theory by saying that "I have come to this conclusion, that the Hazaras are not Mongols, and not even Turks: they are distantly related to the Mongols, but are strongly infused with Tajik blood."[115] Under the present circumstances it is not possible to state if cultural fusion between Tajiks aboriginal and Turco-Mongol conquerors occurred. Schurmann agrees that only anthropometric studies will prove or disprove the fusion hypothesis and trace the cultural history of the Hazara people.[116]

Since their arrival, and until their establishment as an ethnic group in the central region of the Ghurid kingdom the Tajiks were the only major nation with whom they came into contact. With the rise of Abdalis, the Hazaras, for the first time, came to know a new nation, the Afghans. The founder of the Abdali dynasty, Ahmad Shah, sent armies from Qandahar to north of Hindu Kush, which, besides other regions, captured and annexed the Hazara country of Bamian.[117] Since that time the Afghans moved from their homes in the Suliaman Range in the east to the areas inhabited by Persian speaking Tajiks and Hazaras.[118] This Afghan westward movement is still in progress in the 20th century.

This Afghan-Hazara contact did not bring significant changes in

the ethnogenesis of the Hazara nation as a whole; however, it did affect some of the Hazara tribes living on the ethnic gray line such as the less Mongoloid features of many Jaghuris, the presence of Afghan tribal suffix Zai among the Dai Chopan tribe of the Daoo-Zai, [119] the Afghan ethnonym, Abdal, a sub-tribe of Besud, [120] and a Pashtun name of a small tribe of "Doda"[121] among the Dai Kundi.[122] Besides these, one can find Afghan Hazaras throughout Hazarajat.[123] It was the strength of the Hazara society which absorbed the foreign groups among itself and Afghans were one of those groups. However, such ethnic assimilation took place on a very low scale and thus did not influence the Hazara ethnogenesis significantly. From time to time individual Afghans were absorbed into Hazara society. This Afghan absorption among Hazara society has been observed in recent years, which shows that the process of assimilation has not yet ceased. For example, a few decades ago five Afghan families from Wardak settled among eastern Besud, and since then have been completely absorbed culturally and socially by the Hazaras. They have become Shia and are already well mixed through marriages with their Hazara neighbors.[124] This Afghan influence on the Hazara ethnogenesis is of a very recent period since it was impossible for the Afghans to enter the Hazarajat before its occupation in the last decade of the 19th century. After Afghan occupation of the Hazarajat, there came more Hazara-Afghan social contacts and Iwamura has reported intermarriages among these two ethnic groups.[125]

Another ethnic group which has been absorbed into the Hazara society is the Arabs, Sayeds, descendants of Prophet Mohammad. Though they have tried to keep themselves racially pure, they have been completely absorbed into the Hazara society. They are socially and culturally Hazaras; the only difference is their less Mongoloid physiognomy. Although spread all over Hazarajat, they constitute a significant segment of the Yak Aolang region. Some figures show as high as half of the population of Yak Aolang as Sayeds.[126]

The evidence shows that at the time of the Mongol invasion of the contemporary central Afghanistan, the majority of the population were Tajiks. Among these Tajiks lived the original people who were ethnically related to Indo-Aryan.[127] These people, referred to as Karauny or Karaunasy, were related to the Indian women who mixed with the Mongol soldiers.[128] They were probably related to the Doradita tribe in India. They were dark skinned, short people called Bari-Bari.[129] The last known king of these people was known as Barbar

Shah, who lived in a town named Shahr-e Barbar, the ruins of which remain till this day in the neighborhood of Yak Aolang in northern Hazarajat.[130] Both Timurkhanov and Iwamura believe that these people mixed with Mongol troops and played a role, though secondary, in the formation of Hazara ethnogenesis.

Though of not much value, the Hazaras still preserve their legends about their ethnic history. While an overwhelming majority of the Hazaras consider themselves the descendants of Chengiz Khan's soldiers, some other interesting legends also exist. It is said that Besuds are the descendants of two brothers, Sadik Kumr and Sadik Soika; Sadik being a title among them. The Poladi Hazaras claim to be of the race of Afrasiab, the Turkish ancestors of the people of Turan.[131] The Shaikh Ali Hazaras tells that they have been living there since the time of King Barbar, the Infidel Hindu King of Balkh.[132] They also claim brotherhood with Europeans, saying that both are descendants of Japeth, the son of Noah.[133] Some of them describe themselves as the descendants of Alexander the Great.[134]

The Hazaras claim to be related to Chengiz Khan and his soldiers are shown both in their legends and genealogies. Not only do they call themselves Aulad-e Chengiz Khan, but also trace their genealogies in this respect. Schurmann was able to collect such a genealogy in Dai Kundi in which they show Chengiz Khan at the root of their genealogy.[135] Among the legends, a popular one was recorded by Elias who was told by a Hazara chief that the Hazaras of the present-day belong to one of the chief sections, or largest tribes, of the Mongols. They rebelled against Chengiz Khan, so he ordered them to be removed from Mughalistan to the Kohistan of Kabul. This order was being carried out, but Chengiz Khan died just as the Hazaras had crossed the Oxus. One of Chengiz's sons (descendant may be meant) moved part of them to the Kohistan of Kabul, but some effected their escape and settled in Badghis.[136]

Another interesting point about to be discussed is their routes of entry into the contemporary Hazarajat and its adaptation as their habitat. It seems most probable that they entered from the south, following the banks of important rivers like the Helmand, the Hari-Rud, the Farah-Rud and the Arghandab. While discussing the entry of Moghals of Ghorat, Schurmann suggested a theory of southern routes of entry. According to him, the easiest routes of communication between the Ghorat and the outside world are to the west with the Herat-Farrah region, and to the south with the Zamindawar. These

routes follow the courses of the principal rivers named above. Both the north and the east are blocked by high mountain ranges.[137] Relating the Moghals and the Hazaras' entry into their respective countries, Schurmann further states that it is unlikely that there were two separate and distinct incursions of Mongols into mountainous regions of Afghanistan. Rather, it seems more likely that the entrance of Mongols into the Ghorat, and of the Mongol element of the Hazaras into the present-day Hazarajat, must be related in some way.[138] Besides Schurmann, Soviet sources also support the theory of Hazaras' southern entry into Hazarajat. Davydov, for example, believed that the ancestors of Hazaras, the Turco-Mongolian and mixed Turco-Mongolian-Iranian nomads, roamed at large from Persian Khurasan to southern Afghanistan. Later based on the southern Afghan steppes, they migrated regularly, and over a long period for the summer season to the mountain districts of Hazarajat. By the 16th century, they began to settle in the localities of their summer encampments and to subjugate the agricultural population (Tajiks) of the vicinity. Gradually the nomads became thoroughly assimilated with the Tajiks, taking over their language and their habit of working the soil.[139]

Other evidence which supports the Hazaras' southern entry into Hazarajat is the observation of Leech in the first half of the 19th century. He found that many of the names of villages in the immediate neighborhood of Qandahar proved of Hazaras foundation. He also found the tomb of Amir Chopan, the progenitor of the Dai Chopan tribe. He located the tomb in a place called Khak-e Chopan, situated near Girishk, on the road between Qandahar and Herat. He suggested that the Hazaras, until very recently, held the territories between Kabul to Qandahar and Herat.[140]

The Hazaras' tradition also affirms their southern entry into their present homeland. For example, according to a Dai Zangi Khan, the Hazaras were orignially nomads living around Qandahar. They used Hazarajat as their summer grazing land, but finally settled there permanently.[141] It seems that this northward migration was not voluntary at all but another important factor was involved. This factor was the rise of Afghans in Qandahar and Herat in the 18th century, and the westward movements of the Afghan nomads from their homeland in Sulaiman Range and settling in the regions inhabited by Persian speaking Tajiks and Hazaras.[142] About the entry of northern Hazaras, Schurmann suggests that they came directly from the north as Mongol

or mixed Turco-Mongol groups, probably of Chaghataian affinities.[143]

Looking at the geography of Hazarajat, one wonders why the ancestors of the Hazaras preferred to live in such dull regions which have nothing but barren mountains and deep gorges with a frigid climate. After conquering the countries of Ghazni and Herat, they could have settled in the lowland fertile valleys. Several possibilities have been suggested to solve this problem. One such possibility is that the rebel armies of Persian Ilkhans took refuge in these mountains to escape the punitive expedition. One can imagine that for these fugitives it was a matter of safety, rather than choice of land, which forced them to seek refuge in these less accessible regions. These regions provided them a safe, though not fertile, valley which protected them from the outsider with its natural boundaries and kept them independent until the last decade of the 19th century.[144] But the most plausible reason could be the compulsory and forced migration of the Mongol nomads to the central mountainous region.

The Mongol ancestors of the Hazaras had their Qishlaqs (winter quarters) in the Garmsir of southern Afghanistan; they probably moved into the mountains (the region of the present Hazarajat) for their Yaylaqs (summer quarters). As early as Babar's time, some had begun to settle down in the Hindu Kush, probably by conquest.[145] Hudson and Bacon, who support such a possibility, suggest that the Mongol armies were stationed at the periphery rather than within the boundaries of the present-day Hazarajat. They further suggest that with the decline of the Mongol empire and the rise to power of the local dynasties, the Mongol armies were pushed into the interior mountainous region, both from the south and the north.[146] The rulers of the Shaibani dynasty in the north and the Ghilzais and Durranis in the south, played an important role in compelling the Hazaras to migrate into the central mountains of Afghanistan.[147]

Circumstances under which the ancestors of Hazaras settled in the mountainous region of Afghanistan do not suggest that they came enmass or in a single incursion. This question has created a lively discussion between Bacon and Schurmann. Schurmann is of the opinion of a single Mongol incursion.[148] Bacon disagrees and suggests that there was more than one incursion, and that these incursions came from different directions and under different Mongol rulers at different intervals. Both Chaghataian and Ilkhanid troops took part in such incursions.[149] Wilber agrees with Bacon and states that the Mongols came in several waves between the 13th and the 15th centuries.[150]

If we consider the Hazaras as the descendants of the Chaghataian and Ilkhanid Mongols, then the theory of a single Mongol incursion does not hold. However, if we consider them as the descendants of only Nikudarian Mongols, then the theory of single incursion could be accepted. As it was shown in the preceding pages, these Nikudarian Mongols were living as nomads in southern Afghanistan in the vicinity of Qandahar and their enmass migration to the north could be a possibility. However, in the light of historical evidence at our disposal, only Nikudarian ancestry of the Hazaras could not be established. Strong Chaghataian and Ilkhanid influence, along with a substantial Nikudarian contribution, would suggest that the Hazaras ethnogenesis was formed through the several incursions of numerous Mongol and Turco-Mongol people.

The Name: Hazara

The name Hazara comes from the Persian word "Hazar," meaning one thousand.[151] This term is the translation of the Mongol word "minggan" which was a unit of Mongol army. The Mongol armies were divided into several units like "arban" (tens), "jaun" (hundred), "minggan" (thousand) and "tuman" (ten thousand). Thus, the highest unit in the Mongol army was a "tuman" and the lowest was "arban." While these words were used strictly in the sense of military organization, later, during the 14th-17th centuries, they lost their actual meaning. As among the Eastern Mongols, for example, the word "tuman" was no longer a military unit, but represented a larger tribal group or a Mongol feudal fief. Thus, a larger Mongol tribe, the Oirat, consisted of four tuman-ulus,[152] ulus being a race or nation in Mongolian dialect. With the rapid consumption of the Mongol soldiers in the continuous wars, soon it was not possible for the Mongol military leaders to provide 10,000 fighting men, and slowly this term disappeared completely among the Mongols.[153] Instead a lower unit of Mongol army, "minggan" or "ming," came into use. During the period between the 14th and 17th centuries, the word "minggan" was replaced by "Oboq,"[154] and in Persia, by the term "Hazara" for a thousand. Both Oboq and Hazara, in later years were employed to designate a tribal grouping.

In Persia, under the Ilkhanid Mongols, not only the term "Hazara" came into existence but a lower unit of "Sada," one hundred, also came into use. The first time the term Hazara, both in the sense of military and militio-administrative, appeared was in the middle of the 13th century.[155] In the 13th century the term "Hazara" was still used in its original sense; by the middle of the 14th century it was used to designate nomadic or semi-nomadic tribal groups, particularly those nomadizing in the Garm-Sir of south central Persia and southern Afghanistan[156] One of these Hazaras, the Hazara-e Shadi, under their leader Amir Buqa, revolted in 1355 against Shah Shuja of Persia and were brought under control.[157] The name Hazara for a specific group of people further appeared in the second half of the 14th century.[158] The author of Tarikh-i Rashidi refers to the "hill-men" or mountaineers as "Hazara," without mentioning any specific ethnic or racial groups.[159]

In Afghanistan the name Hazara appeared in the sources in the last decade of the 14th century. Timur dispatched his troops under their leader, Amir Shaikh Luqman Barlas, against the Hazara tribes who had been dwelling in the Hazara districts.[160] Fletcher suggested that the name Hazara was used in the region even before the arrival of Mongols and that Mongoloid people had lived in Hazarajat centuries before Mongol conquest.[161] Besides these historical facts several other interesting reasons have been forwarded to explain the word "Hazara." Howorth suggests that the Hazaras may be related to the Turkish tribe of "Khazar," who along with his brother "Turk," was the son of Yafis, the founder of Turkish lineage.[162] An Afghan author, Shah, related the name to the second capital of the ancient kingdom of Arachozia, as Hosala or Ozola.[163]

According to Khanikoff, they are called Hazara because of the 1,000 families which were sent by Timur to Herat in 1379 to accompany his son, Shah Rukh, when he was appointed governor of that country.[164] A Muslim historian from India suggests that they are so called because of the circumstances. During the time of Sultan Zabulistan, these clans were required to supply an annual contingent of a "thousand horsemen."[165] Yate gives another historical reason for the name Hazara. According to him, the Hazara people revolted in the reign of Sultan Abu Said Saljuki (some 700 or 800 years ago). The monarch attacked them and carried off 1,000 families as hostage, settled them in the districts of Herat, and hence they got their name.[166] A similar story about the Hazaras of Qala-e Nao was also reported by Ferdinand.[167]

It is interesting, that while their neighbors have long called them Hazaras, they did not use this term for themselves. Bellew noticed that among themselves they never used the term "Hazaras" as their

national affiliation and yet they have no name for their people as a nation. They are only known amongst themselves by the names of their several principal tribes and the clans subordinate to them respectively. Thus, they are either Jaghuri or Besud, Dahi Zangi or Dahi Kundi, etc.[168]

The Hazaras have their own traditions regarding their name. One of them is that they are called Hazara because they consist of innumerable "Taifa" or tribes.[169] The Afghan neighbors of Hazaras have an interesting reason for the name. They believe that the name derives from the Persian word "Azar-ha," a name signifying "the discard" or "leprous." By this association the Afghans make allusion to the treachery of the Hazaras who are said to have deserted their spiritual guide, Ali, on the field of battle. For their action, Ali cursed the fugitives on this occassion, calling after them "Azar-ha bashee" (curse be on you). It is because of that curse that the ridges of their noses flattened and their eyes became oblique to the transverse line of their faces.[170]

Physiognomy

Without a detailed anthropometric survey, the Hazaras have been described as having Mongoloid featues. They have high and prominent cheekbones, slanting eyes with epicanthus eye folds, and sparse beards. They have broad faces and round heads (Brachycephalic). They have coarse black hair, yellow and yellowish-brown complexions. The best description of Hazaras features has been given by an Englishman, Dr. Brereton, who examined many Hazaras in 1879. He described them:

> "The nose is flat, the stature is rather under middle size, the figure stout, and the muscular strength considerable. The prevailing type of the head is elongated or pyramidal, with an average measurement of the longitudinal and transverse diameters of adult heads as: 0.1757 and 0.1498 meter respectively. The facial angel is small. The face is broad, the breadth of the zygomas exceeding that of the forehead. The colour in majority is olive, varying according to exposure. Some of the women seen in Kandahar are fair with some colour on the cheeks, while others among the poor labourers are very dark; the complexion also probably varies with their origin. The eyes are small and almond-shaped, gray, hazel, or brown in colour; the line of the eyebrow is not parallel with the axis of the eyes, the hair is straight, varying from auburn to black."[171]

Like their physiognomy, the Hazaras also vary in their physique. Long residence in an inclement country, with, in many cases, an insufficiency of food, has stunted the race in some parts of the country. This deterioration is most apparent among the common Hazaras, as the chiefs and their relatives appear to be, almost without exception, fine tall men.[172] Though the physical structure has been affected adversely in some cases, Hazaras are still strong and stout and they have been referred to as "Dutch-built."[173]

The Hazaras of today resemble in features neither the Mongols as represented in the Persian miniature arts, nor the description given by Amir Khusru. Amir Khusru was an Indian only on his mother's side; his father, an illiterate Turk from Central Asia, was a man of some importance who had moved to India with his tribe, the Hazara-e Lachin, during the Mongol invasions, either from Transoxiana or from Balkh.[174] Amir Khusru, who became a Mongol prisoner, has given a description of Mongol features which, though certainly colored by animosity, is interesting. He stated that:

> "Their eyes were so narrow and piercing that they might have bored a hole in a brazen vessel, and their stench was more horrible than their colour. Their heads were set on their bodies as if they had no necks, and their cheeks resembled leathern bottles full of wrinkles and knots. Their noses extended from cheek to cheek and their mouths from cheekbone to cheekbone. Their nostrils resembled rotten graves, and from them the hair descended as far as the lips. Their moustaches were of extravagant length, but the beards about their chins were very scanty. It is said that God had created them out of hell fire."[175]

This statement is the result of his bad treatment in the hands of Mongols when he was their prisoner and he was no doubt burning with dread and resentment. His description of Mongols must be taken to be somewhat tinged by his feelings.[176]

According to Harlan, the Hazaras are a strong, hardy, athletic race, remarkable for their blunt features. The external angle is slightly elevated out of the transverse line of the face; the ridge of the nose is considerably flattened; they have large ears, thick lips, broad faces, and high cheekbones; the hair is black and glossy, beard sparse.[177] Except in complexion, the various tribes of Hazara strongly resemble

each other. Those inhabiting the high elevation (Dai Zangi and Dai Kundi) are fairer than their neighbors and the complexion varies as the native approaches the lowest climate. The people of Jaghuri and Gizao, which are warm countries, are much darker than those of Dai Zangi and Dai Kundi. Among the higher elevations, many Hazara ladies have the beautiful tint of a healthy, florid, English complexion.[178]

While Harlan made a distinction between different tribes on the basis of their complexion, Wilber tells us that each Hazara tribe has distinctive physical characteristics. On the basis of these physical features one can readily identify a Besud, a Jaghuri, or an Uruzgani.[179]

The Mongoloid features are by no means common to all Hazaras, Irano-Afghanoid and generally Europeanoid features are to be found very frequently among them as well.[180]

The Koh-e Baba Hazaras, i.e., the Yak Aolang Hazaras, are much more Mongoloid than the Hazaras living south of Koh-e Baba.[181] However, Ferdinand does not agree with Schurmann on this point, stating that the Hazaras south of Koh-e Baba, i.e., Besud and Dai Mirdad, are much more Mongoloid than the Koh-e Baba Hazaras, while Jaghuri and Shahristani are definitely less Mongoloid.[182] Bacon has also opposed the theory of Schurmann and suggested that Besuds are more Mongoloid.[183]

A recent Russian study confirmed the less Mongoloid features of the Jaghuri tribe compared to other Hazara tribes. Besides their features, they also found that they were taller than the other Hazaras, even taller than the Tajiks and Pushtuns of Ghazni. He called them the "Tall Hazara."[184]

Little scientific study has been conducted to ascertain the racial admixture of the Hazara tribes. The only material available about the Hazara blood group is the research of Maranjian and Wood-Walker, et al. Based on an average of 171 individual Hazaras (with no mention of the tribes), Maranjian came to this conclusion: That the Hazaras have a frequency of V genes (O-type) of 0.612, followed by Qandahar (B-type) at 0.222, and P genes (A-type) at 0.175.[185] Their blood groups are in great contrast with their Afghan, Tajik and Uzbek neighbors who have a higher A and B-type, but lower O-type. Among the three ethnic groups, only Uzbek have a lower B-type than the Hazaras. In another detailed study, Wood-Walker has found that the Timuri tribe, which Bacon has mentioned as one of the Hazara tribes, is intermediate in allele frequencies between Caucasoid and Mongoloid population. When compared to Baltis and the Gorkhas of Nepal, they

are more closely related to Gorkhas than to the Baltis. On the basis of Rh group, both the Hazaras and Timuris showed a similar frequency of code (1.0), which suggests a Mongoloid origin. This code frequency for Tajiks is much higher (2.0) than the Hazaras. Such higher code frequency has also been found in Iran. He also found that the Timuri have higher A (Caucasoid) alleles (3.0) than the Hazaras (1.0), which suggests a stronger genetic connection with the west of the Timuri than the Hazaras.[186]

When Chengiz Khan invaded the region between the rivers Oxus and Indus, he did not come to stay there or to annex it to his empire. He came while chasing his enemy, the Khwarzam Shah, who fled from Transoxiana to India. The armies of Chengiz Khan and his immediate successors did not make this region their permanent residence and it seems that they did not bring with them their Mongol women. However, once the Mongol empires were established in Transoxiana and Persia, the Mongol soldiers were accompanied with their families and livestock.[187]

It is possible that the Mongol garrisons stationed in the Hindu Kush region during the early days of Mongol rule took the local women as their wives. Some of these women came from the local aboriginal Barbars,[188] while others were of Persian origin.[189] These non-Mongolian women contributed significant changes in the Hazara physiognomy. However, the changes in Hazara physiognomy are much weaker than their cousins, the Moghals of Ghorat. Contemporary Moghals, though they still speak the Mongolian language, do not have any other Mongoloid traces. They look more like Tajiks and Afghans. There could be several possibilities for the disappearance of Mongoloid features among Ghorat's Mongols. As they are believed to be the descendants of only Nikudari nomads; their numbers were much smaller than the Hazaras, whose ancestors are believed to be both Chaghataian and Ilkhanids along with some Nikudaris. When these Nikudaris settled in Ghorat region, they were surrounded by Caucasoid Tajiks who were superior in number. Soon, through the process of marriage, the Nikudaris were completely absorbed into the Caucasoid majority and today have lost all the Mongoloid traces except for their language. Their language, too, is disappearing rapidly and being replaced by Pashtu or Persian.[190] On the other hand, the Hazaras, who still are prominently Mongoloid, settled in a depopulated region whose inhabitants were mostly killed during an invasion by Chengiz Khan. Besides this, their initial number was large and they were further

strengthened by several waves of Mongolian hordes. In the beginning they married the non-Mongoloid women; however, further intermarriages strengthened their Mongoloid features, which are still preserved. The fact that the soldiers in the later Mongol campaigns were accompanied by their families might also have strengthened or contributed to the maintenance of Mongol physiognomy.

It is interesting to note that while many of the common Hazaras are still Mongoloid in features, the ruling families have lost almost all their Mongoloid features. Most of them have sharp features and full beards and are tall with a strong Caucasoid appearance. As evidence of their affinity to Mongols, they have only to show their round heads.[191]

The process of change in physiognomy is not a very new phenomenon for the Mongol aristocracy. Through the process of intermixture of blood, they have rapidly lost their Mongoloid features. In a short period of two centuries, a descendant of Chengiz Khan, Yunus, the Khan of Mughalistan, has been described as a "Tajik looking man," instead of "Turk of the Desert," i.e., Mongol.[192] The difference in degree of change of features among the ruling and the common Mongols has been explained by Elias, who stated that in the case of the few families of the chiefs, the tendency to change would be much more rapid than in that of the bulk of the people. The reason for this is that these rulers would give their relatives in marriage to the friendly rulers of foreign countries and take as wives members of those rulers' families. Thus, if one Khan subjugated another, he usually demanded a daughter or a sister in marriage. It was no doubt possible, and perhaps fashionable, for others of the governing classes to add foreign wives to their harems.[193]

In these circumstances, the physical characteristics of the original race would soon pass away among the families of the chiefs, and with them would go the language and the customs. But with the mass of the people it would be otherwise. Thus, Yunus, the Khan of Mughalistan, had no resemblance to his people.

Citing the example of the Hazaras, Elias considered the life of the steppes and the comparative isolation of them as important factors which helped the Hazaras to preserve the purity of the Mongol face for more than six centuries.[194]

A parallel case of Hazaras change of features has been drawn by Elias. That is the case of Baltis of Baltistan, in the northeastern part of Pakistan. These Baltis originally formed a section of the ordinary population of Tibet and followed the same religion and spoke the same

language. Some three centuries or more ago, they became Muslims and gradually changed their manners. At present, a written language of Tibet is unknown among them. Persian has replaced it. Their chiefs, through intermarriage with neighboring Muslim people (of Caucasoid origin), have changed so greatly even in type, that usually no trace of the Tibetan is left, but the mass of the nation (though practicing Muslim social customs and wearing Muslim costumes), have not lost the Tibetan spoken language, and are, in features and other personal attributes, as thoroughly Tibetan as ever they were. Had the Baltis occupied an open country and been constantly engaged in wars and invasions, there might have been a greater and more rapid change. Their secluded mountainous home, like that of the Hazaras, has mitigated this and has helped to preserve them as a race, but the principle is the same as with the Hazaras.[195]

Tribes and Sub-Tribes

Ordinary Mongol families were shifted from one Ulus to another, according to the exigencies of the situation, but whenever they were joined under one chief they began to talk as if they were of one blood. Essentially the Ulus was a military or fighting unit. After overpowering all his enemies in the steppes, Chengiz Khan sat down to divide the conquered families among his officers of ten, hundred, thousand and ten thousand; he kept the fact of geographical contiguity in view, but practically ignored blood relationships.[196]

By the term Turco-Mongolian Ulus, as originally used, one must understand a unit of families who had a common name for themselves. The common name may be a very simple one taken from a self-made leader who had brought the families together or from his supposed ancestor. It may be a thing immemorial or a creation of yesterday. Some Ulus names are compound words, indicating that the unit was part of a larger unit. But the name, in all cases, indicates a conception primarily of military identity.[197] Vladimirtsov has pointed out that under the Mongol Empire the minggan regiments were sometimes designated by the old tribal names, sometimes by the name of their leader.[198]

Ghazan's decree of the year 1303, dealing with the apportioning of the land amongst the Mongol levy, was formally an act of beneficience on the part of the Ilkhans. It was made necessary by the pressing importunity of the army. According to the decree, a certain fixed area was granted in fief to the Amir of Tuman (ten thousand)—the leader of

a branch of the Mongol tribe who provided the army with ten thousand horsemen. The Amir of a thousand (Hazara) divided this amongst the Amirs of hundreds (Sada). In the same way, Amirs of a hundred divided land amongst Amirs of ten (Dahi). All of the soldiers received a large portion, by right of Iqta (fief), of a village or part of a village, and the Amirs received correspondingly more. The ownership of Iqta was conditional upon military service.[199]

Thus, the smallest unit of state landholding was in control of the Amir of ten Mongol soldiers. Soon the territory and the people under the leadership of the Mongol army was called the "Dah of so and so." Beside the term "Dai," the larger unit of "Sada," the hundred, had also appeared in the Persian sources.[200] Among the contemporary sources, Fraser-Tytler agrees that the prefix "Dai" of the Hazara tribes, does have connection with their original military division.[201] The word Dai, which is a common prefix of several Hazara tribes, is of much controversy and needs a thorough review and discussion.

The "real" Hazara tribes seem to be the Dai groups: Dai Kundi, Dai Zangi, Dai Khitai, and Dai Chopan. These groups inhabit the territory stretching roughly from the southern slopes of the Koh-e Baba to the confines of the Qandahar region, i.e., the territory called the Hazarajat. Although the word Dai (now usually written as Da'i), can be construed in a number of ways, the most likely etymology relates it to Da, "ten." Dai would be Da-i, i.e., Da plus the Izafat i of the Persian language. Dai would thus mean "decade."[202] If one accepts the etymology of Dai as decade, then one can conceive of the Dais as parts of larger tribal groups, "Sadas," or centuries, which once existed.[203] In fact, the Persian sources do mention certain Sada in the territory of contemporary southern Hazarajat. For example, one of these Sadas was Sad-e Tuqa'i-e il-e Tuman.[204] Some of these Sada have been recorded in recent times. Bacon has mentioned these Sada and noted the Hazara tradition that the Dai Kundi, Dai Zangi, Besud, and Polada belong to Sad-e Qabar, while Jaghuri belong to Sad-e Sueka, the former Sada being the original Hazara tribes and the latter being of mixed descent.[205] Besides these tribes, Dai Chopan belong to the Sad-e Qabar, while Chahar Dasta and Mohammad Khwaja are the Sad-e Sueka.[206] These medieval Sadas probably broke down even further in the course of incessant wars. The Sada probably continued to break up, ultimately leaving the various Dais.[207]

It seems that most Hazara tribes fall under this Dai heading. A common Afghan proverb is "A Hazara, without a Dai, is an Afghan

without a Zai," which means that it is just as unthinkable to meet a Hazara who does not belong to a certain tribe, as it is to meet a de-tribalized Afghan.[208] The explanations of the name "Dai" are many, and those of the Hazaras themselves are not satisfactory. Ferdinand's explanation of the word Dai involves the Hazaragi definition, which means a stack of winter fodder or of bushes for fuel, i.e., things collected and placed together. If so, Dai Kundi, for instance, could perhaps mean the "lot of Kundi" or the "tribe of Kundi."[209]

Dahi, Dai or Deh, is common in the Hazara country as the distinctive national title of many of its tribes.[210] Another explanation for the term Dahi may perhaps be traced to the Dahal of Transoxiana, who at first fought with, and then coalesced with, the Sakas and their invasion of this region about that time of the Christian era.[211]

Hazaras have their own tradition about the term Dai. According to them Dai was the ancestor of all the Hazaras and the different Dais are his sons.[212] There are indications that there were originally nine Dai groups. Bellew[213] reported the Hazaras' tradition that Chengiz Khan left behind nine detachments in Hazarajat and the 10th in the Pakli region east of the river Indus. Another such tradition was recorded by Schurmann[214] in Dai Kundi, that the Hazaras are the descendants of 90 soldiers (9 Dai) whom Chengiz Khan left behind in Bamian.

It is natural to suppose that, as the Mongol hordes had a tribal organization, the groups were taken by tribes and tribal subdivision. Thus it might be possible that each of the larger groups of one hundred was furnished by a tribe. After settling down in their new habitat, some of them no doubt, flourished and increased; others dwindled and disappeared, becoming absorbed by their more prosperous neighbors. Fresh settlers came in, joining existing divisions if weak in numbers, or forming separate communities if strong and able to acquire a territory for themselves. Thus, we may easily imagine that a century after the first population of the Barbar country by Mongol warriors, the Hazaras had formed themselves into eight or ten distinct tribes, with divergent interests and aims among themselves, but uniting, as a rule, against aggression from outside.[215]

Among the sources which described the different Hazara tribes, Babar was the first one. According to his statement they were of the following tribes: Turkman Hazaras, Rusta Hazaras, Qarluq Hazaras and Sultan Masudi Hazaras.[216] None of these tribes can be found at present, however, Schurmann does relate the Shaikh Ali Hazaras to Turkman Hazaras, Rusta to the Hazaras of Badakhshan, and the

Qarluq to the people who once lived in the Hazara district of Pakistan.[217] Some of the detailed tribal lists have been provided by the 19th century European travellers. None of these lists agree with each other; nevertheless, they provide a very good source of information about the division of the Hazara tribes. Some of these sections no longer exist in tribal lists provided by the researchers of the 20th century.

Harlan was the first westerner who studied in detail the Hazara tribal structure. According to his list, the Hazaras consisted of the following tribes: Dye Zungee, Dye Kundee, Jaughooree, Gizzoo, Mawer, Balkhyaree, Beysoot, Shaher-i-staun, Oruzghan, Balkh-ab-Balla, Yak aolung, Fouladee.[218] Burnes[219] gave another list, which included the following tribes: Deh Zungee, Deh Kundee, Deh Choupan, Tatar and Hubush, Fouladee, Kaloo, Toorkman, and Parsa, Sheikh Ali, Bulktiaree, Jaghoree, Chukmuk, Paruka Behsood. Wood[220] gave another list, which include the following tribes: Da Marda, Durab Ali, Ism Tumir, Dai Zingi, Dowlat Pai, Marak, Kuptseom, Yarkhana, Zhalek, Tejuk, Dai Murza, Sheikh Ali, Tatar, Jurghai Burjeghai, Diah Pollah (probably meant Poladah).

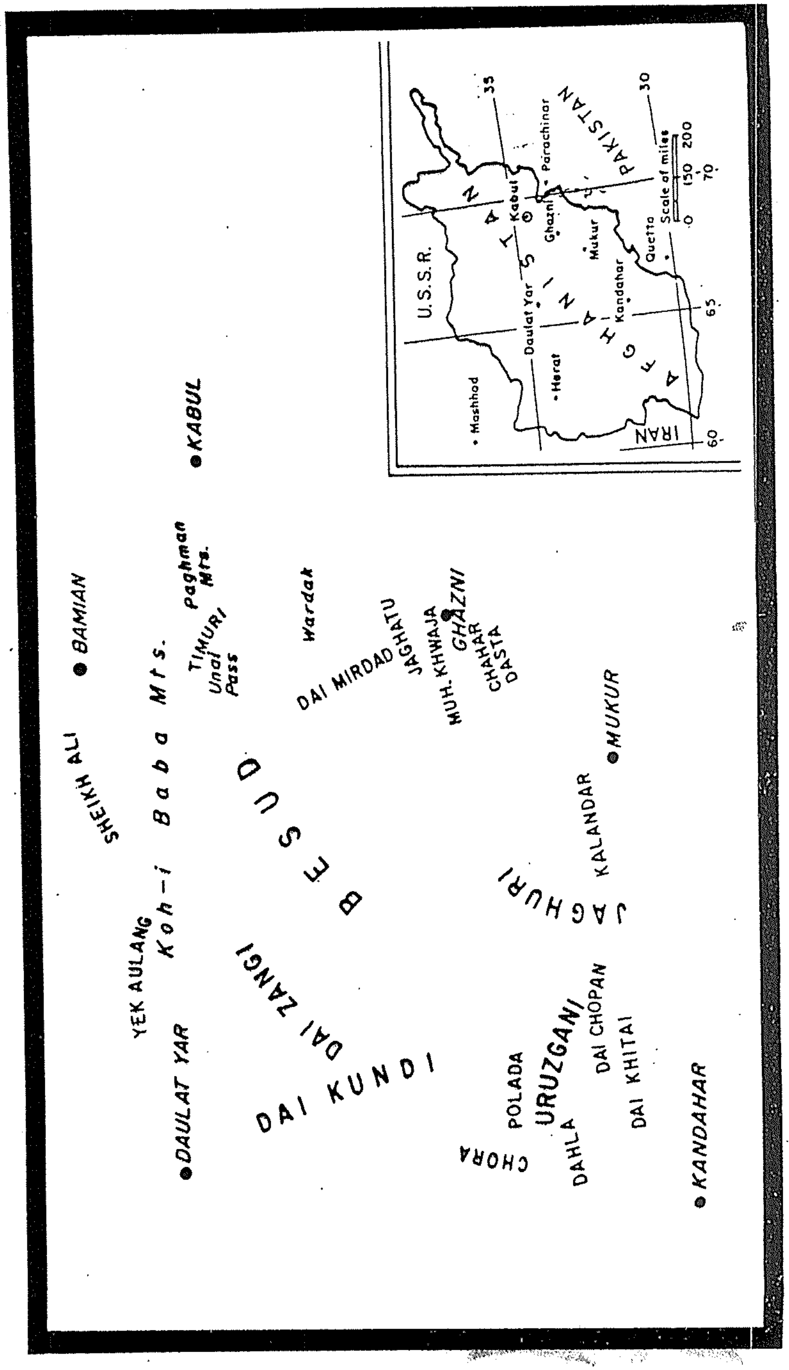
Elphinstone[221] gives the following Hazara tribal list: Deh Zengee, Deh Koondee, Jaughooree, and Poludeh. According to Bellew,[222] the Hazaras consist of the following tribes: Dahi Zangi, Dahi Khundi, Dahi Chopan, Dahi Mardah, Dahi Fauladi, Jaghuri, Sheikh Ali, Barbari, Gavi, Besudi, Kubti, and Nakodari. Ferrier[223] provided the following list: Yekoo Olingy, Deh Zengy, Ser Jingeli, Deh Kundi, Bolgor and Kundelane.

Among the non-Western sources, Hayat Khan gave the following list of Hazara tribes:[224]

1. The Sada-su-ekeh, consisting of the Di-Zangi, Di Kundi, Di Mirdad, Di Mirlas and Mirale;
2. The Sada Kabai, consisting of the Di-Chupan, Di-Khitai, Di Nuri, Di-Meri and Dayu;
3. The Ja-uri;
4. The Pulada.

Besides these tribal lists, the authors of **Gazetteer of Afghanistan**[225] have also provided a Hazara tribal list: Dai Zangi, Dai Kundi, Dai Chopan, Dai Kalan (the modern Sheikh Ali) Besud, Faolad, Khatai and Dahla or Dai La.

Among the 20th century writers, Bacon[226] was the pioneer in locating the different Hazara tribes. (Map No. 1) She gave the



Map No. 1: Locations of Hazara Tribes

following tribal lists: Dai Kundi, Dai Zangi, Besud, Polada, Jaghuri and Uruzgani.

Schurmann[227] provided a list of Hazara tribes on the basis of their locations in different parts of Hazarajat: Dai Kundi, Dai Zangi, Lal, Jaghuri, Uruzgan, Besud and Fuladi.

Besud or Behsud

Besud is the only Hazara tribe which bears a medieval Mongol name. The name Besut has been mentioned both in Mongolian genealogies and other written sources.

According to MacKenzie,[228] Besud was the tribe of Jebay, one of the "four hounds" of Tamijin. Few of Chengiz's regiments were composed of a single tribe, but Vladimirtsov[229] has mentioned that one of them was exclusively composed of Besut tribe. The descendants of their regiments have been mentioned as "Besudi hordes" near Kabul during the time of Timur.[230] The Hazara tradition is that the Hazara tribes are the descendants of two sons of Qabar, Besud belonging to one son and the rest of the Hazara tribes belonging to the other.[231]

The country between Kabul and Bamian has been held by this Besud tribe.[232] The boundaries of their country are: to the north the Shaikh Ali and the Hazaras of Bamian, to the northwest by Dai Zangi, to the south by the Daya and Poladah, and to the east by Gul Khanum. They occupy the highly populated (according to Hazarajat standard) valleys of Gardan Dewal, Sia Sang, Kharzar, Dewal Kol, Farakh Alum, Rah Kul, Kash Kul, Koh Bevun, Bad Asiah; Shash Burj, Gari Mani, Neshanda, Shastana, Burjak, Kaf, Tirai, Khulm.[233] They have the following sub-tribes according to Bellew:[234] Babali, Burjagai,[235] Daulatpa, Dilkan, Darghan, Darvesh, Jhalak, Jangzie, Sargal, Sokfa.[236] Burnes gives the list as: Kulritan, Sugfa and Doulatfa, Durweish Ali, Junglye, Bool Hussum, Boorjugye, Dihkan and Dih Murdagan.[237] Several other sub-tribes have been mentioned as belonging to Besud. These sections, which do not reside in the Besud territory, were found to inhabit the region of Pas-e Koh, west of Besud. They are Jirghai Usi or Hosi Muhammad, Dayah and Batur. The Batur is a sub-section of Isan Temur which is further divided into three clans: Khudadad, Bakhshi, and Kabar. They are located at the head of Ujaristan stream in Pas-e Koh region.[238]

Dai Chopan

This tribe is one of the original Hazara tribes which has been

considered by Bacon[239] as the sub-tribe of Uruzgani. They possibly got their name after their leader Mir Chopan, who was found to be burried in the place known as Khak-e Choupan, near Girishk, and west of Qandahar.[240] They occupied the territories of Qarabagh Nawar, Gul Koh, Uruzgan, Sar-ab, and the upper Arghandab valleys,[241] as well as the valley of Chilla Khor and Mian Nashin.[242] Timurkhanov[243] extended the region by saying that they occupied the entire southern belt of Hazarajat from Bagna to Qalat-i-Ghilzai, and they included the fertile valleys of ChalaKur, Dala or Dehla, Tirin, and Dehrawat. Bellew gives the following tribal list: Aldae, Bebud, Bubak, Chardasta, Darzai, Bachak, Bati, Baitan, Baltamur, Orasi, Isfandyar, Paindah, Shera, Targhaul.[244] Leech[245] gives a more detailed picture of the Dai Chopan tribal division as follows:

A. Wachak Clan
   1. Paindah Mahmad
   2. Bubash
   3. Daoozai
   4. Sheerah
B. Orasee Clan
   1. Isfandyar
   2. Ghulam-e Wakee
   3. Baitamoor
C. Baintan Clan
   1. Wuttee Murghans
   2. Sherak
   3. Malik Mohamad
   4. Mohamad Beg

Dai Khitai

Though not a very large Hazara tribe, the Dai Khitai is considered one of the original Hazara tribes.[246] Bacon relates their name to the Khitai or Qara Khitai, a Mongol people, a branch of which ruled Turkistan until the beginning of the 13th century.[247] She, in contrast to other writers, stated that though a previously independent tribe, it is now a branch of the Uruzgani tribe.[248] According to the Hazara tradition, they got their name from the founder, one Baba Khitai. They are also known as Babalis and they are the same people as Dai Chopan. This appears sufficient to account for the appellation Babali, but as to the real identity of the Khitais, or Babalis, with the Dai Chopan, it would appear probable that it has arisen from a fusion of two originally

distinct, though perhaps closely related, tribes. And there is some reason to suppose that a certain division still exists of the Dai Chopan located to the east of the Khitai. The former, it would seem, are north of Qalat-e Ghilzai, and of the small Qandahar district of Mizan, having the Qalandars to the east, and the Uruzgan to the north. While the latter are north of Tirin, in the Darafshan Valley, and extending west along the border of Dehrawat into the neighborhood of the Helmand,[249] no tribal division has been given. Bacon located the territory of Dai Khitai north of Qandahar, south of Dai Chopan and Dahla.[250] Besides their original location, i.e., Besud and Dai Zangi regions, several thousand members of this tribe have been found residing in the district of Mazar-e Sharif in the region of Dara-e Yosuf. These were divided into the following sub-tribes:
Tulu, Sadmurda, Bumbi, Churchi, Jamburgha, Tulakh-sha.[251] Mohamad Khwaja have been described by Leech[252] as the Hazaras of Qarabagh and are divided into four sections: Tamakee Taltamoor, Doka, Sagadee and Ornee.

Dai Kundi

This tribe occupies the region southwest of Punjab. The name had been suggested by the Hazara tradition as the name of their ancestor, a brother of Zangi, the ancestor of another Hazara tribe to the northwest, the Dai Zangi.[253] The tribe has been described as having the following subtribes: Daulat Beg, Doda, Haider Beg, Qaum-i Ali, Mir Hazar, Neka, Khoshak, Chahush, Fihristan, Ainak, Chahkuk, Saru, Bubak. Burnes[254] gives a shorter list of the Dai Kundi sub-tribes: Daulut Beg, Roushun Beg, Haider Beg, Chaoosh and Burat. It occupied a territory bounded on the west by Ghur, to the southwest of Gizab, to the northeast by the Dai Zangi, and to the north by the Chakcharan.[255] According to Bellew,[256] they occupied the land to the south of Chakcharan as far as Tiri and Darawat, about 100 miles north of the Qandahar city. Their chief districts are Sang Takht, Shaikh Miran, Gizing, Hashtarlao, Galigadi, etc.

Dai Mardah

This tribe inhabited the region of Dasht-e Yahud, Sokhta, Bisud, and Dahn-e Ghori.[257] While several authors listed them among Hazara tribes, none have described the subdivision of Dai Mardah.[258] Schurmann could not locate this tribe among the Hazaras.[259]

Dai Zangi

This is one of the largest Hazara tribes which occupy an area stretching from Besud and Bamian in the east to Dai Kundi in the west, from Balkhab in the north to the valleys along the river Helmand in the south. The whole of the southern slopes of Koh-e Baba is occupied by this tribe. Various tribal lists have been provided by different authors. For example, Bellew[260] gives the following sub-tribes: Bacha-Ghulam, Bubali, Sag-Pae, Sag-Joe, Takash, Urarus, Yanghur and Dai Khundi, which inhabit the districts of Sar-e Jangal, Lal, Sagsez, Waras, Zuro, Sar-e Kol up to Chakcharan. Schurmann gives only the tribes of Bacha-Ghulam and Dai Zangi Bai.[261] Burnes gives the following list: Buchu Ghoolam, Yanghoor and Tukuna.[262] The tribe got its name from Zangi, a personal name which has appeared several times in the the Ilkhanid Mongol sources.[263]

Hazara-e Ghazni

These tribes are collectively called Hazara-e Ghazni, but are actually three distinct tribes: Mohamad Khwaja, Jaghatu and Chahar Dasta. Chahar Dasta is also known as Urni.[264] They are located in the regions of Qarabagh, Navar and Sar-e Ab.[265] Bacon located the Chahar Dasta southwest of Ghazni, and Jaghatu and Mohamad Khwaja to the north of Ghazni,[266] According to her,[267] the Chahar Dasta and Mohamad Khwaja formerly constituted a single tribe, which had branched off from the Dai Chopan.[268] Mohamad Khwaja have been described as consisting of 19 sub-tribes residing in Qarabagh and Sar-i Ab, Talkhag, Charah, Band-e Ali and Mian Deh valleys. The tribes are: Shahu, Bubak, Khwaja, Chalma, Mirag, Bandali, Nur Muhammada, Jamal, Bahran, Amin, Tochin, Karachah, Jaffa, Bahi, Khapar, Khishale, Ikhtiar and Alam.[269]

Jaghuri

They derived their name, according to the Hazara traditions, from Jam (bowl) and Uri (plate), based on the Hazara story that Jahuri, the founder of the tribe was the son of a Persian concubine and a Tatar prince. Bacon[270] related the name to Jawari, which means a female slave. The name Jaghuri is not exclusively modern, for a connection between the modern Jaghuri and the Sanskrit Jaguda was suggested by Foucher, who also derived the name Jaguda from the geographical or tribe name of Zabul.[271] Bivar further speculated the Jaguda may be the

Sanskritization of Zabul.[272] They inhabit the regions of Jarmatu, Sokhta, Jalga, Sang-e Masha, Arghandab valley and Gulkoh range.[273]

The Jaghuri territory was bounded on the north by Hujristan, to the east by Qarabagh, Muqur, and Resan, to the west by Malistan and Uruzgan, and to the south by Uruzgan.[274] They consist of the following tribes: Atah, Almaeto, Bala Nasar, Baghran, Baghochari, Balaeto, Bubak, Gayaeto, Garai, Ghashi, Gujiristan, Izdari, Kalandar, Melistan, Mama, Mughaeto, Pashal, Sherdagh, Shunasi, Zaoli, Nassari.[275] Burnes[276] only gave five sub-tribes as: Bookuk, Culendur, Malistan, Hoojuristan and Zoonlee. Timurkhanov[277] gave seven clans: Pashe-Pashai, Sherdag, Kalandar, Garai, Yazdari, Bagichuri, and Attak. Among the recent writers, Schurmann[278] gives only three sub-tribes: Maska, Kalandar and Wuqi. Leech gave the following list: Garaiee, Baghochury, Izdaree, Attak, Kalandar, Pashahee, Sherdagh. These seven clans are collectively known as Mama and each clan is called a Dagtak.[279] The Qalandar sub-tribe occupied the regions of Mughailoo, Gardan-e Kotal, Oloom, Gardooni-Murgo, Doom-e Sago, Surkh Kol Albecto, Gardo, Bayh, and Moklai.[280] They (Kalandar) have to their west, the Ghulam-e Wakee and Bobash Hazara, to the north Uruzgan to the east Attaba, and the south Jalalzai Tokhees.[281] While most of the authors list the Jaghuri as a sub-section of a tribe, Bacon[282], has recorded the division of the tribes as: Jaghuri, Izu, Musqa, Baba, giving the names in the order from the largest to the smallest group. Among the sub-sections of Jaghuri, Qalandar have been described both as independent and a section of Jaghuri. They have both been located between Uruzgan and Jaghuri in the upper Arghandab valley.[283] Bacon has placed them between Jaghuri and Chahar Dasta.[284] Leech has placed them south of Uruzgan, east of Bobash Hazara, bordering on the south by the Jalalzai Afghans.[285]

Poladi; Fuladi; Pulada; Puladi

Mostly referred to by the western scholars as Faulad or Puladi,[286] this group perhaps derived its name from one of the several Pulad named Mongol leaders.[287] One Polad Bugha was stationed in Kabul by the ruler of Badakhshan, Amir Hussain and who, after strengthening his position, raised the standard of rebellion.[288] Another Polad was a general of Timur who was attached to the government of Khorasan during the reign of Timur's son, Shah Rukh.[289] They occupied the area known as Malistan. To the west and north their boundaries ran up to

the land of independent Hazaras, to the east lay the territory of the Mohammad Khwaja and Chahar Dasta of Ghazni, to the south, the Jaghuri territory.[290] They inhabit Ujristan proper, i.e., the main valley of the Ujristan stream between the country of Dayah to the northeast, and Darafshan to the southwest. They are a distinct tribe, and are said to have been originally one of the primary divisions of the Hazaras. While a majority live in the Ujristan, many also live in the adjacent district of Malistan. A good many Poladis are also scattered about in various parts of the Hazara country. The principal locations of the separated Poladis are the Faoladi clan of Bamian, and in the Dara Yosuf district.[291] Bellew also mentioned a large number of Poladi in the Besud region north of Nawar and in the Fouladi valley, south of Bamian. Besides these settlements, he has mentioned a large number of them settled in western Baluchistan.[292] Schurmann located these scattered Poladi Hazaras in the region south of Bamian.[293] They are divided into the following sub-tribes:[294] Kalanzai, Aji, Musat, Basi, Haidar, Panjpai, Haji, Jamal, Khoninda, Kimsung, Chakar.

Shaikh Ali

The Shaikh Ali tribe has been previously known as Dai Kalan or Dai Kalu.[295] Perhaps this tribe got its present name from its leader, Shaikh Ali who was one of Timur's generals.[296] The Shaikh Alis occupied the territory between Bamian, Ghorband, and the sources of the Helmand river.[297] They also inhabited the regions of Koh-Daman, Dasht-e Safed, Paghman range, Gardan Dival and Kharzar valleys of Besud. The majority lived east of Bamian, in the valley of Ghorband. Scattered settlements were also present in the Shibar and Iraq valleys.[298] The Shaikh Ali tribe is divided into the following sub-tribes: Darghan, Kalu, Habash, Tatar, Sagpa.[299] They also occupied the Dara Shaikh Ali, Dara Turkoman, Jalmish, Surkhab, Khinjan and Ghori.[300] Another list gives the following tribal subdivisions: Ali Jam, Karam Ali, Hash Khwaja, Toth, Neg Pai, Deh-e Mirag, Tatar, Karai.[301]

Uruzgani

According to Hazara tradition, this tribe got its name from Chengiz's grandson, Arghun Khan, and was further corrupted during the next few centuries, becoming Argun Gun and later becoming Uruzgan.[302] They have been traditionally termed by 19th century writers as the Hazara-e Yaghistan or Hazara of Pas-e Koh.[303] Among the sub-tribes of Pas-e Koh Hazaras, Uruzgani was the largest tribe

and occupied the valley and district of Uruzgan, southeast of Ujristan.[304] The tribe is divided into the following sub-tribes:[305] Nekruz, Shikha, Palan, Firuz, Said, Darvesh, Hussani, Kadam, Bakhrud, and Baitemur. Their country, the Uruzgan, is surrounded by Dai Chopan tribe to the south, Chura to the west, Jaghuri to the east, Sultan Ahmed, Zaoli, Mir Adina, Daya and Poladi tribes to the north.

Minor Tribes and Subtribes

Besides the tribes mentioned above, several other tribes have been described by different authors. Bellew has located a Barbari tribe residing in Sar-e Jangal and Lal districts and the upper valley of Hari Rud.[306] Schurmann gave the list of Shahristani tribes, including the Seh Pai which is the southern Dai Zangi or Dai Zangi Pitao (sunny side), while the northern Dai Zangi are the Dai Zangi Geru (shady side).[307] The Seh Pai section of Dai Zangi lived on the left bank of the Helmand River above the valley of Ghizao.[308] One sub-tribe, Sultan Ahmad, mentioned by Schurmann as part of Shahristani tribes, is previously mentioned as the Jaghuri tribe located in the region of Sar-e Julgai Raoti in Ujrisatan.[309] Bacon[310] has not only related the Sultan Ahmad as a section of Uruzgan, but also another Jaghuri sub-section of Zaoil as a section of Uruzgani.[311] Schurmann has mentioned the sub-sections of the Lal tribe which includes, Seh-Pai, the sub-tribe of Dai Zangi. He further includes this sub-section under the tribes of Shahristani.[312] The Seh Pai is the main branch of Dai Zangi which occupy a large tract of land extending to Dai Kundi, Lal and Shahristan.[313]

A tribe which has created confusion among the scholars of recent times is Bacon's Timuri. This tribe occupied the region of Unai Pass in the vicinity of Sar-e Chashma. Bacon has included Timuri among the Hazaras tribes which have never before been mentioned by any other author. Bacon hypothesized that this tribe has been formed from the lineages of Dai Kundi, Besud, and possibly other tribal origin.[314] Schurmann does not agree with her and does not consider them as the Hazarajat Hazaras. He believes that considering them as such is not true. He put forward his theory that they are of Herati origin and related to Aimaq in the Herat region.[315] Recently, Schurmann's theory was strengthened by the findings of Ferdinand. Ferdinand has recorded the Timuri's tradition that they originated from the Shindand (Sabzwar) region, and since their arrival at their present habitat, have been completely Hazaradized.[316] However, he could not trace the time of their arrival.

Another tribe, Chora, which have been described by Bacon[317] as a sub-section of Uruzgani, is reported as an independent tribe.[318] Similarly, Yak Aolang, which have been reported as an independent tribe, has been shown by Bacon to be an offshoot of the Dai Zangi Tribe.[319] Another tribe, Babuli, has been mentioned as a section of Uruzgani of Dai Khitai branch.[320] This tribe has been mentioned previously as the same as Dai Khitai.[321]

References

1. Ferrier: 222-223
2. Shah: 32-38
3. Fletcher: 17
4. Bellew, Races: 114
5. Vanbery Travels: 307
6. Burnes: 176
7. Fraser-Tytler: 56
8. Hackin: 353
9. Fox: 258
10. Iwamura, Identification: 31
11. Macmunn: 20
12. Abul Fazl: 401
13. Petrushevski: 41-42
14. Yule: 102-103, Note #4
15. Boyle: 489, footnote
16. Bacon, Obok: 4
17. Thesiger, Hazaras: 313
18. Elias, Tarikh-i Rashidi: 13
19. Burnes, 1: 176
20. Neamatullah: 67-68
21. Macmunn: 20
22. Snesarev: Afghanistan: 19
23. Timurkhanov: 24
24. Schurmann, Mongols: 26
25. Vigne: 169
26. Bellew, Races: 116
27. Mohan Lal, Travels: 86
28. Moorcraft, 2: 358
29. Trinklel: 7
30. Debets, 1: 3
31. Bellew, Ethnography: 38
32. Ibid: 45
33. Wood: 127
34. d-Ohsson, 2: 2
35. Elias, Tarikh-i Rashidi: 29-30
36. Oliver: 77
37. Minhaj-ud-Din, 2: 1109-1119
38. Ibid: 1131-1132
39. d'Ohsson, 4: 559-562
40. Oliver: 98
41. Boyle: 404
42. Elias, Tarikh-i Rashidi: 30-38
43. d'Ohsson, 4: 268-269
44. Hamdu'llah, Tarikh-i Gazida: 142
45. Howorth, 3: 42
46. Brown: 40
47. Howorth, 3: 42
48. Brown: 40
49. Howorth, 3:392
50. Ibid: 489
51. Ibid: 362
52. Ibid: 404
53. d'Ohsson, 4: 642-644
54. Bellew, Inquiry: 40-41
55. Brown: 52
56. d'Ohsson, 4: 642-644
57. Ibid: 670
58. Brown: 160
59. Elias, Tarikh-i Rashidi: 29-33
60. Oliver: 90
61. Brown: 160
62. Price: 127
63. Mulfuzat Timury: 144
64. Price: 535
65. Arfa: 14
66. Elias, Tarikh-i Rashidi: 253
67. Howorth, 2: 706; Elias, Tarikh-i Rashidi: 231
68. Encyclopedia of Islam: 227-228
69. Babarnama: 228-251
70. Price, 3: 535
71. Elias, Tarikh-i Rashidi: 353
72. Babarnama: 200
73. Timurkhanov: 20
74. Al-Haravi: 162-163
75. Zafarnama, 1: 371-375

76. Timurkhanov: 15-16
77. d'Ohsson, 1: 305, 310
78. Ibid, 1: 311-312
79. Ibid, 2: 280
80. Minhaj-ud-Din, 2: 1109-1119
81. d'Ohsson, 4: 268-269
82. Bacon, Inquiry: 238
83. d'Ohsson, 4: 564-565, 605, 670, 674
84. Brown: 176
85. Bacon, Inquiry: 239
86. Boyle: 362, 489
87. Petrushevski: 42 .
88. Zafarnama, 1: 370-371
89. Timurkhanov: 20
90. Babarnama: 200
91. Minhaj-ud-Din, 2: 1006, 1047-1048
92. Timurkhanov: 21
93. Elias, Tarikh-i Rashidi: 58
94. Timurkhanov: 21
95. Ferdinand, Preliminary Notes: 18-50; Ibid, Nomadic Expansion: 126; Thesiger, Hazaras: 313; Schurmann, Mongols: 112-115, 119, 156
96. Sun, Secret History: 12
97. Arfa: 13
98. Juvaini, 1: 103
99. Dianous, 19: 81
100. Sun: 19
101. Ibid: 17
102. Zafarnama, 1: 558-559
103. Faiz: 803
104. Ferdinand, Preliminary Notes: 38
105. Bacon, Inquiry: 42
106. Al-Haravi: 189
107. Babarnama: 155
108. Dupree, Afghanistan: 317
109. Masson, 2: 217
110. Schurmann, Mongols: 126-127
111. Ibid: 143
112. Ibid: 145
113. Ibid: 37
114. Timurkhanov: 23
115. Snesarev, Afghanistan: 125
116. Schurmann, Mongols: 111
117. Dupree, Afghanistan: 336
118. Sachs: 3-4
119. Leech, Supplementary Notes: 336
120. Timurkhanov: 19
121. Schurmann, Mongols: 148
122. Ferdinand, Preliminary Notes: 17
123. Ibid: 18
124. Iwamura, Problems Concerning: 206
125. Iwamura & Schurmann: 509
126. Timurkhanov: 24
127. Rashid-ud-Din, 3:91-92
128. Marco Polo: 66-67
129. Iwamura, Problems: 20
130. Kohzad, Da Afghanistan, 1: 8
131. Bellew, Ethnography: 47
132. Burnes: 230-231
133. Leech, Supplementary Notes: 333
134. Ivanov, 67: 143
135. Schurmann, Mongols: 131
136. Elias, Tarikh-i Rashidi: 499
137. Schurmann, Mongols: 24
138. Ibid: 25
139. Davydov, 14: 34
140. Leech, Supplementary Notes: 333
141. Ferdinand, Ethnographical Notes: 177
142. Sachs: 4
143. Schurmann, Mongols: 39
144. Bacon, Review of: 63
145. Schurmann, Mongols: 118
146. Hudson & Bacon: 241
147. Leech, Suppl. Notes: 333; Masson, 2; 224; Raverty: 35, Elias, Tarikh-i Rashidi: 231
148. Schurmann, Mongols: 177
149. Bacon, Review of: 63
150. Wilber: 45
151. Barthold: 134
152. Vladimirtsov: 171, 174-175
153. Ibid: 200
154. Ibid: 173-174
155. Al-Haravi: 162-163
156. Schurmann, Mongols: 115
157. Hamdu'llah, Tarikh-i Gazida: 170
158. Zafarnama, 1: 371-375
159. Elias, Tarikh-i Rashidi: 90
160. Price: 354, 535
161. Fletcher: 17
162. Howorth, Chengiz Khan: 4
163. Shah: 32-38
164. Khanikoff: 112-138
165. Hayat Khan: 306
166. Yate, England and Russia: 173
167. Ferdinand, Ethnographical Notes: 181
168. Bellew, Races: 114
169. Vigne: 168
170. Harlan: 104
171. Gaz of Afghanistan: 280-281
172. Ibid: 280

173. Leech, Suppl. Notes: 334
174. Boyle, 5: 606
175. Haig, 1:84
176. Elias, Tarikh-i Rashidi: 81
177. Boyle, 5: 606
178. Ibid: 120
179. Wilber: 45
180. Schurmann, Mongols: 111
181. Ibid: 113
182. Ferdinand, Ethnographic Notes: 184
183. Bacon, Review of: 66
184. Debets: 2:4
185. Maranjian: 263
186. Wood-Walker: 195, 199-200
187. Vladimirtsov: 162
188. Fraser-Tytler: 56
189. Fox: 258
190. Schurmann, Mongols: 118-119
191. Ibid: 131
192. Elias, Tarikh-i Rashidi: 78
193. Ibid: 79
194. Ibid: 80
195. Ibid: 82
196. Sun: 17
197. Ibid: 14
198. Vladimirtsov; 142-143
199. Boyle, 5: 519
200. Zafarnama, 1: 372
201. Fraser-Tytler: 56
202. Schurmann, Mongols: 123
203. Ibid: 124
204. Zafarnama, 1: 372
205. Bacon, Obok: 6
206. Ibid: 8
207. Schurmann, Mongols: 124
208. Ferdinand, Preliminary Notes: 13
209. Ibid: 14
210. Bellew, Inquiry:35
211. Ibid, Races: 114-115
212. Ferdinand, Preliminary Notes: 14
213. Bellew, Races: 114
214. Schurmann, Mongols: 123
215. Gaz. of Afghanistan: 227
216. Babarnama, 1: 125
217. Schurmann, Mongols: 113-114
218. Harlan: 107
219. Burnes: 174
220. Wood: 127
221. Elphinstone: 211
222. Bellew, Inquiry: 35
223. Ferrier: 220
224. Hayat Khan: 306
225. Gaz of Afghanistan: 227
226. Bacon, Obok: 6
227. Schurmann, Mongols: 123
228. MacKenzie: 242, Note #1
229. Vladimirtsov: 192
230. de la Croix, 1: 313
231. Bacon, Hazara Mongols: 9 Note #1
232. Masson, 2: 295
233. Timurkhanov: 35
234. Bellew, Inquiry: 46
235. Bacon relates this to the medieval Mongol Oboq of Borjigin to which Chengiz Khan belonged. Bacon, Inquiry: 245
236. Bellew has mentioned another district in the Jalalabad valley, called Bisud which is located between the Junction of Kunar and Kabul rivers, but could not locate any Hazara there. Bellew, Inquiry: 46
237. Burnes: 230
238. Gaz.of Afghanistan: 288
239. Bacon, Inquiry: 246
240. Leech, Suppl. Notes 337; Qamus-i jughrafia: 115
241. Bellew, Inquiry: 38
242. Gaz. of Afghanistan: 293-294
243. Timurkhanov: 36
244. Bellew, Inquiry: 38
245. Leech, Suppl. Notes: 337
246. Gaz. of Afghanistan: 277
247. Bacon, Inquiry: 245
248. Ibid, Obok: 6
249. Gaz. of Afghanistan: 288, 291-292
250. Bacon, Obok: 7
251. Secret Letters, 49: 418
252. Leech, Supplementary Notes: 337
253. Schurmann, Mongols: 124
254. Burnes: 228-229
255. Timurkhanov: 36
256. Bellew, Inquiry:35

257. Ibid: 41
258. Wood: 127;
Hayat Khan: 306;
Bellew, Inquiry: 41;
Ferdinand, Preliminary Notes: 16;
Timurkhanov: 34
259. Schurmann, Mongols: 122, Footnote #188
260. Bellew, Inquiry: 35
261. Schurmann, Mongols: 125
262. Burnes: 228
263. Schurmann, Mongols: 124
264. Timurkhanov: 36
265. Ibid: 36
266. Bacon, Obok: 7
267. Ibid: 8
268. Ibid: 9
269. Secret Letters, 49: 415
270. Bacon, Hazara Mongols: 29
271. Bivar, Petroglyphs: 79
272. Ibid: 80
273. Bellew, Iquiry: 45
274. Timurkhanov: 36
275. Bellew, Inquiry: 45
276. Burnes: 229-230
277. Timurkhanov: 36
278. Schurmann, Mongols: 125
279. Leech, Suppl. Notes: 336
280. Ibid: 337
281. Ibid: 338
282. Bacon, Hazara Mongol: 29
283. Gaz. of Afghanistan: 287-291
284. Bacon, Obok: 7
285. Leech, Suppl. Notes: 338
286. Schurmann, Mongols: 122
287. Bacon, Inquiry: 246
288. Mulfuzat Timury: 117
289. Price: 296
290. Timurkhanov: 35
291. Gaz of Afghanistan: 290
292. Bellew, Inquiry: 46
293. Schurmann, Mongols: 122, Footnotes #188 and 190
294. Gaz of Afghanistan: 290
295. Ibid: 277
296. Price: 296
297. Bellew, Inquiry: 45
298. Timurkhanov: 35
299. Bellew, Inquiry: 45
300. Gaz of Afghanistan: 280
301. Secret Letters, 49: 420
302. Sulaiman: 3
303. Gaz.of Afghanistan: 286
304. Ibid: 288
305. Timurkhanov: 36
306. Bellew, Inquiry: 46
307. Gaz of Afghanistan: 288-292
308. Ibid: 288
309. Ibid: 288
310. Bacon, Obok: 6
311. Gaz. of Afghanistan: 228
312. Schurmann, Mongols: 119
313. Gaz. of Afghanistan: 228
314. Bacon, Obok: 8
315. Schurmann, Mongols: 122, 136
316. Ferdinand, Ethnographical Notes: 177
317. Bacon, Obok: 8
318. Timurkhanov: 34
319. Bacon, Obok: 8
320. Ibid: 8
321. Gaz. of Afghanistan: 288

2
The Land, Hazarajat

The habitat of the Hazara nation is usually known as the Hazarajat. This is the land which used to be known as Paropamizan or Paropamisus. Besides its common name, Hazarajat. it has also been referred to as Hazaristan and Barbaristan.[1] Some medievel sources have also referred to the country as Sadajat.[2] It has also been known as Gharjistan.[3] Hazarajat is a Persian etymon which, according to Harlan,[4] is compounded of Hazar-ha, signifying thousands or myriads and Jaut'h, or tribes, i.e., the land of a thousand tribes.

History

The historical background of Hazarajat is almost nonexistent. However, the passing of the lands surrounding this mountainous region from one ruler to another gives us an idea about the history of the Hazarajat. About six centuries before Christ, the land of most of the modern-day Afghanistan was captured by Persian Emperor, Darius I. Bactria, the present city of Balkh, became the capital of the kingdom. After three centuries of Persian rule, this land was once again overrun by the Greeks under their king, Alexander the Great.

The Greeks were able to establish an independent mini-Greek kingdom of Bactria with its capital at Balkh. The Greek lettered petroglyphs found in different parts of Hazarajat leads us to believe that it was part of the Greek kingdom. The Greek kingdom did not last more than a century and fell in the hands of new invader, the Sakas. To this newly acquired land, the Sakas added some more conquered regions and gave them the name of Sakestan, or Seistan.[5] Buddhism spread throughout the land, which continued until the early part of the 9th century. The Buddhist remains in parts of Hazarajat show that people living in this area were the followers of this religion.

Most of the present-day Hazarajat came under the medieval kingdom of Zabulistan which, according to LeStrange,[6] included the whole of the great mountainous district of the upper waters of the Helmand and the Qandahar (i.e., Arghandab) rivers. Juvaini[7] referred to the land as Zavulistan, a mountainous country above the upper waters of Helmand. To the Arabs, this land was also known as Zabulistan, a term of vague affliction. Recent discoveries of Professor Bivar in the Jaghuri and Uruzgan districts of southern Hazarajat leave no doubt that Hazarajat was indeed in the heart of Zabulistan, a kingdom ruled by the Mihiraluka dynasty around 500 A.D.[8]

Before the introduction of Islam in the present-day Afghanistan, the land was ruled by small dynasties. While Kabul was governed by Hindu Shahi, the regions of Qandahar, Ghor and Zamindawar were ruled by Buddhist Kushans.[9] Hazarajat was believed to be governed by a king named Barbar Shah, whose capital's ruin at Chehl Burj still exists in the Yak Aolang region of northwestern Hazarajat.[10] These Kushan kingdoms were destroyed by the ruler of the Saffarid dynasty, who ruled the region during 861-910 A.D.[11] Though it is a common belief among the Hazaras that Barbar Shah was defeated by their spiritual leader Ali, there is, of course, no truth in such belief as Ali never came to this land. The Hindu Shahi king of Kabul was defeated by the Arabs under the command of Arab governor of Sistan, but he and his family continued to rule Kabul as the vassals of the Umayyid Caliphs from 661-750.[12]

During the reign of Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad, most of the present-day Afghanistan was ruled by a Central Asian Dynasty of Samanid who ruled from their capital of Bokhara during the period of 819-1005. It was during the Samanid rule that the way was paved for the establishment of a Turkish dynasty, the Ghaznavids of Ghazni. Subuktagin established the Ghaznavid dynasty in 994, which was

glorifed by his son, Mahmud of Ghazni. During Mahmud's rule, Hazarajat was ruled by an independent king of Ghor, who was overthrown by Mahmud in 1002.[13] The Ghaznavids were displaced by the Seljuks, who mastered Persia and Anatolia (Eastern Turkey). One of the great rulers of the Seljuk dynasty was Sultan Sinjir who ruled the region from 1095-1157, with his capital at Khorasan.[14] Seljuks were followed by the Ghorids who, rising from Ghor, destroyed Ghazni and established an empire stretching from Herat to Ajmir, in India. The Ghorid, according to Dupree,[15] was possibly one of the last of the Kushans. The Ghorid dynasty lasted for about two centuries from 1000-1215. The Ghorids were replaced by Khwarzam Shah, the rulers of the Khiva Oasis in Transoxiana, who by 1217 had created a Turco-Persian state that included the whole of Afghanistan. This empire disintegrated when Chengiz Khan attacked it in 1220.

Chengiz Khan was followed by his grandson, Hulaku Khan who, after conquering the region south of river Oxus, established a Mongolian dynasty of Persian Ilkhanids. While most of the Hazarajat remained a cantonment for the Chaghataian armies marching towards India, it remained permanently a part of the Ilkhanid northeastern province of Khurasan. At the downfall of the Ilkhanid dynasty the Hazaras achieved their independence, and most of Hazarajat remained a free country until 1893 when it was finally occupied by the Afghans.

Boundaries

Hazarajat never had true and specific borders, but whenever the Hazaras came in contact with the dwellings of non-Hazara tribes, i.e., at the ethnic gray line, those places were considered to be the boundaries of Hazarajat.

According to the recently published maps of Afghanistan by Humlum, Dulling, Dupree, Ferdinand, and especially maps published by the War Office, United States Army, Washington, D.C., the Hazarajat lies roughly between 60° and 68° East-West and 33° and 35° North-South, covering about 15,000 square miles. It stretches from the east about a distance of 50 miles west of Kabul, i.e., in the region of Unai Kotal-Maidan, to the west near the Chakcharan in Ghorat.[16] Although Koh-e Baba is considered the northern limit of Hazarajat, the border stretches farther north, in the region of Dara-e Yosuf, Yak Aolang, and east of Bamian.[17] To the south, Hazarajat's boundaries stretch down to the foothills of Ghazni, Muqor, and just north of Qandahar. Thus, Hazarajat of today includes the western extremity of the Hindu Kush

girdle of mountain valleys immediately bordering to the southwest, north, and northeast, on the original Tajik areas.[18] Besides the Hazarajat proper, small groups of Hazaras also live in Badakhshan, Mazar-e Sharif, Afghan Turkistan, Qataghan and most of the urban areas, especially Kabul, Ghazni, Herat, etc. Outside Afghanistan, large numbers of Hazara live in Pakistan and Iran, which will be discussed in a separate chapter.

While the present-day Hazarajat consists of a small, compact, central, mountainous region of Afghanistan, the historical records show that once its borders stretched far beyond the present boundaries. While the shrinkage in Hazarajat size occured over the past several centuries, the single-most reduction occurred when the Afghan forces of Abdur Rahman occupied it in 1893. This reduction was especially visible on the southern borders in the regions of Jaghuri, Uruzgan and Qarabagh. During the 1891-1893 period, the Hazaras of these regions were either killed, enslaved, or forced to leave their homes and lands. The captured lands were distributed among the Afghan volunteers, mostly nomads, who took part in the war against the Hazaras. Thus, today we can find the colonies of Durranis, Ghilzais and Kakars planted in the heart of Uruzgan. To the west, the Aimaq, especially the Firozkohi, captured part of the Hazara land, but compared to the south, the changes in the west are insignificant.

Though the Hazaras themselves do not have any record about the original boundaries of their homeland, the western explorers of the 19th century have left behind valuable information regarding Hazarajat of the past. The discussion of these historical records is important not only because they throw light on the Hazarajat, but also because they strengthen the theory of their southern origin. Among these scholars of the 19th century, Bellew and Leech have recorded a great deal of related information. Bellew told us about the situation of Hazarajat during his visit:

> "They occupy a very extensive area of country, extending from the borders of Kabul and Ghazni to those of Herat in one direction, and from the vicinity of Kandahar to that of Balkh in the other. They held, in fact, all the country which formed the Paropamisus of the ancient."[19]

He further stated that:

> "Dahi Kundi inhabit the country to the south of Chakcharan as far as Tiri and Darawat, about 100 miles north of Kandahar

> city."[20]

Leech, who explored much of the Hazarajat during his visit in the mid-19th century, described it:

> "They, I believe, held the high road from Kabool to Candahar and Herat up to comparatively speaking a recent period. Many of the names of villages in the immediate neighborhood of Candahar prove a Hazarah founder; and the tomb of one of their progenitors, Choupan, is on the high road between Candahar and Herat near Greeshk; the place is now called Khak-i Choupan."[21]

He further offers more interesting information, extending the boundaries of Hazarajat further south in Baluchistan in the following statement:

> "The Hazarah extended as far as Shawl Quetta, from the name Takatoo of the mountain bounding that valley towards Pishing and Candahar and from Kuchlak (which means caves in the Hazarah dialect) being the first stage from Quetta toward Candahar."[22]

Regarding the southern neighbors of the Hazaras, Leech tells us:

> "The boundaries of Kalandar Hazarahs and the Tokhees is at Akhool on the Arghandab while Kalandars have to their west Gulam-i Wakhe and Bubash Hazarhs, to the north Uruzgan, to the east Altaba, and to the south Jalalzai,"[23]

The description provided by Leech gives us a clear picture that during the early decades of the 19th century, Hazarajat southern border was very close to Qandahar. Masson, a 19th century American explorer, tells us about Hazarajat and the gradual encroachment of Afghans around the southern and southeastern periphery of the country. According to his observations:

> "The district of Wardack had formerly been possessed by the Hazaras, who about one hundred years since, were expelled by the Afghans. The Hazaras would also seem to have held the country from Karabagh to Ghazni, but have been in like manner partially expelled. Indeed the encroachments of the Afghan tribes are still in progress."[24]

Among the southern districts of Hazarajat, Qarabagh and Moqur

were once entirely possessed by Hazaras. As they are lying on the Qandahar-Ghazni-Kabul route, many western travellers of the 19th century noted the changes and recorded their observations. Among them, Elphinstone's notes about these areas are particulary worth mentioning. He found that:

"The plains about Mookkoor, Karrrabaugh to the west of Ghaznee, are inhabited by Hazarahs, who in their situation, and in everything but features exactly resemble Tajiks."[25]

Besides Elphinstone, Masson also tells us about the inhabitants of these regions as:

"At Karabagh, we found the inhabitants principally Hazaras, easily distinguished from their Afghan neighbors by their Tatar physiognomy, their diminished stature, their habiliments, especially their close-fitting skull caps. They are of Bubak tribe, and their Chief, Gulistan Khan, resides at Karabagh."[26]

Another Englishman, Major Todd, who travelled in part of Qarabagh during the first quarter of the 19th century, noted that "Chardeh, one of the thousand forts of the fertile district of Karabagh, is chiefly peopled by Hazarahs."[27]

The Afghan encroachments in these two regions were, however, too fast-paced after the mid-19th century. A few decades after Elphinstone's visit, another Englishman, Broadfoot, found a significant change in the ethnic population of the Qarabagh region. He noted that:

"In Karabagh, the Hazaras and Afghans are mixed, and in Nawar and Sar-i-ab is the tribe of Muhammad Khawaja, and in Jelga and Jarmatu are tribes of Jaghoris. The chief of the whole Hazara district is Gulistan Khan of Karabagh, who is answerable for the tribute. The rule of the Afghans is merely nominal."[28]

Even though the Afghan encroachments on the southern borders continued until the war of 1891-1893, during which time, the boundaries were still considered to be "by the Kandahar districts of Zamindawar, Dehrawat, and Tiri, on the southeast by Ghazni."[29]

A detailed description of Hazarajat boundaries has been provided by MacGregor:

"From the Hazara post on the top of the Unae Pass, west of Kabul, they extend probably to the crest of the Paghman range, and then descend and hold the head of the Ghorband valley beyond Farinjal. From this, they ascend the main range of the Hindu Kush, which is then their boundary as far as the Gwazgar Pass, when a few of them came down six miles south of the crest, and in the Gwalian Pass, they come fourteen miles south. From this they go over the main range to 30 miles north of it, and 5 miles from Khinjan. Thence their boundary is doubtful, as I have no cross route to guide me, but, roughly speaking, I should say that their limit may be represented by the line of Khinjan stream to be its junction with the main branch of the Kunduz river, a mile south of Ghori, thence the line of that river to the junction of the stream from Saeghan. From this a line drawn to Kala Yahudi, whence they appear to extend across the mountains toward Sar-i-Pul for about 60 miles, whence they go over the Koh-i-Baba and occupy the country at the head waters of the Hari Rud. Now again, the boundaries are very doubtful, but again making the best of what information there is, I am inclined to think that from the crest of the Siah-Koh, the spur which forms the west watershed of the Khud Rud, is about the line which their boundary takes, thence it continues as far as the latitude of Sakhir, then a line drawn thence to that of Tazi keeping to the north of Terin, Darawat and Khan Khel of the Ghilzais. Form the crest of Gulkoh range, as far as the district of Karabagh, may be considered the boundary, and at this point it takes a dip to the east, so as to enclose that district, and then returns to the crest of the ridge along which it runs north till it becomes merged in the Paghman Range, whence it arrives at the post of Unae pass from which we started. The tract of the country thus limited has something the shape of a leg of mutton, and has an extreme breadth of 130, by an extreme length of 250 miles."[30]

Besides these above-mentioned western explorers, a Muslim historian of the 19th century, Mohammad Hayat Khan, traced the southern borders of the Hazarajat:

"For it is certain that, before the influx of the Afghan Ghilzai,

and some other parts of the southern plains were held by Hazaras, as well as by Tajiks, and that they were gradually driven thence by the Afghans to the hilly country they now hold."[31]

Toward the west, the Hazarajat had been traced near the Aimaq country by most of the explorers with exception of Thornton,[32] who traced it as far as Khoosk or Khaska river and Sazbzwar. On the eastern border, Unai Pass has been traditionally considered as the line where Afghanistan is separatd from Hazarajat.[33] As late as the 1820's the Maidan Valley in the foothills of Unai Pass was in the possession of Hazaras who intermingled with Tajiks. A few decades later, the Hazaras were forced to leave, and by the 1870's the valley was occupied completely by Afghans.[34]

Among the 20th century scholars of the Hazaras, Professor Ferdinand has done some research about the Hazarajat of the past. His information is based on the traditions recorded by the Afghan inhabitants who are living on the land which used to be Hazara lands. According to his findings:

> "Formerly the Hazaras lived around Ghazni, and were in possession of the western part of the plain where the main road Kabul-Qandahar runs today, i.e., Qarabagh, Muqur, and obviously also Qalat itself, and even the plain south of Qalat, where the Afghan farmers told us that the Karezes found there were made long ago by the Hazaras."[35]

Professor Ferdinand further tells us about the process of Afghan occupation of the Hazara lands:

> "It seems that it is since the time of Ahmed Shah Baba Durrani or Abdali (1747-1773), or according to Raverty a little earlier, that the Hazaras have been pushed towards the northwest into the mountains. Formerly, the southern border was very close to Qandahar, but during these 60-70 years it has become very indistinct as a large contingent of Afghan tribes have settled there and wholly or in part taken over the land from the Hazaras; this is the case with Dahla (the Arghandab basin south of Jaghuri), Tiri (north of Qandahar) etc., and even further north in Uruzgan, in Daya wa Folad, and in Gezao (Gezab) to the north-west of the Helmand."[36]

Administrative Division

When we compare the present-day Hazarajat with the boundaries described by the 19th century writers, a significant change in its size could be observed.[37] After Hazarajat was completely occupied in 1893, it was divided into the neighboring provinces (Valayat) of Qandahar, Kabul and Bamian. The purpose of such division was obviously to crush the Hazara sense of independence and future resistance. It also created division among the Hazaras who became united during the uprising of 1890-1893. Most probably, it also gave Afghan officials a better means to maintain vigilence and collect taxes from the far extreme regions of Hazarajat. Hazarajat is currently divided into the following five provinces: Ghazni, Bamian, Ghor, Wardak, and the Uruzgan (Map No. 2).[38] The Hazara districts of Jaghatu, Malistan, Moqur, Nawar, Qarabagh and Jaghuri are given under the administrative control of Ghazni province, Besud, Dai Mirdad, Jalrez and Syedabad under Wardak province, Yak Aolang, Waras, Panjab and Shibar under Bamian Province. Much of the central and southern Hazarajat, i.e., Dai Kundi, Ajristan, remains under the province of Uruzgan.

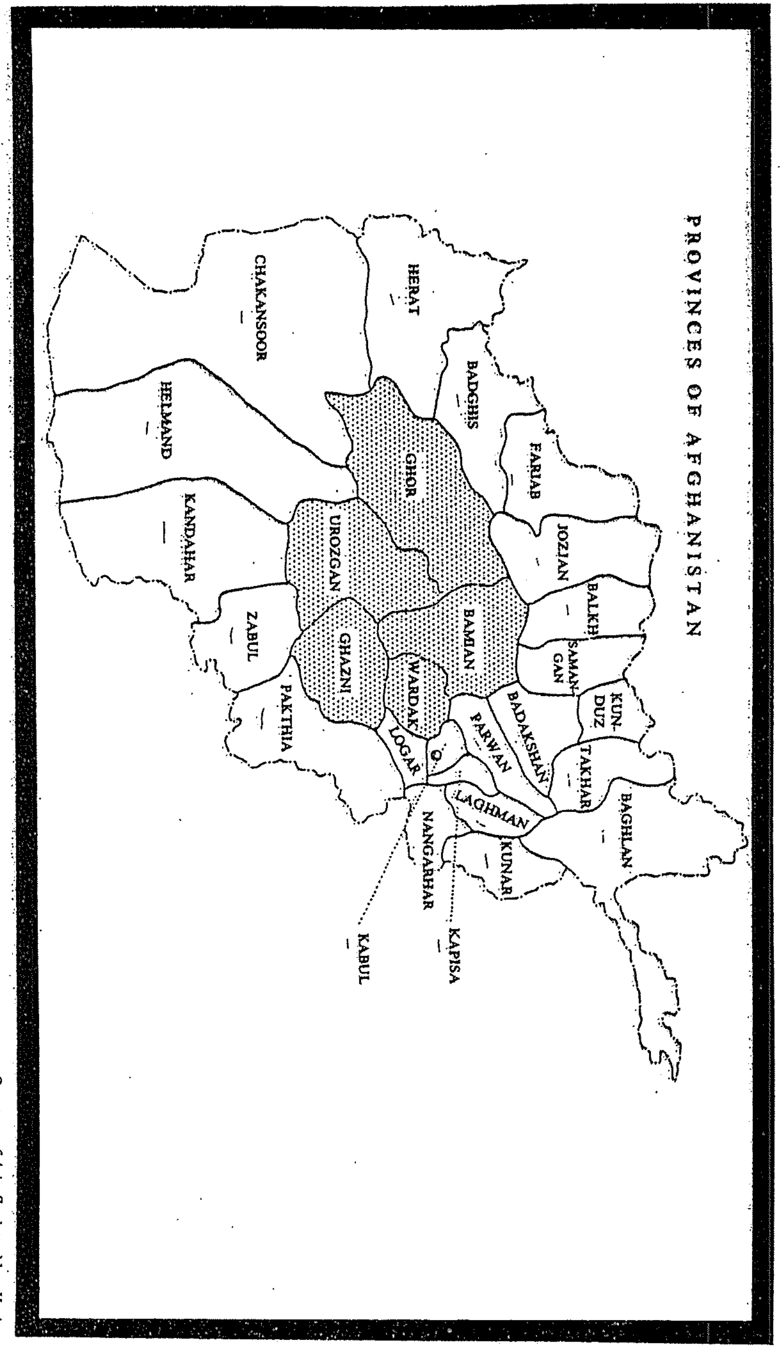
The district of Lal wa Sar Jangal, which used to be part of Dai Zangi, was merged into the province of Ghor in the year 1920.[39] The center of Dai Zangi is Panjab, of Uruzgan is Uruzgan City, of Jaghuri is Sang-e Masha, of Shahristan is Alqan, and of Yak Aolang is Naik.

Among these five central provinces, Bamian, Ghazni, Ghor and Uruzgan are predominantly Hazaras. It has been reported that Hazaras constitute as high as 80 percent of the total provincial population, while Wardak has been reported to have at least 45 percent Hazaras.[40]

Geography

Afghanistan is often termed the land of stones and rocks, this underscoring the prevalence of dead nature of the landscape. This is more evident when we look at the topography of the central mountainous regions which cover most of the Hazarajat.

The authors of the **Gazatteer of Afghanistan** have extensively studied the Hazarajat region and provided us with valuable information. Since the studies are reliable, this chapter will make full use of this information.



Map No. 2: Administration Division of Hazarajat (Central Provinces)

Courtesy of Asia Society, New York

Koh-e Baba Range

The landscape of the Hazarajat is dominated by the Koh-e Baba Range and its branches, which in most cases run southwest. The chief distinguishing characteristic of the southern part of this range is its altitude, which ranges from 9,900 to 16,500 feet. The Koh-e Baba itself runs from east to west for about 80 miles and forms the western extremity of the Hindu Kush. The Helmand River, which rises from the northern slopes of Koh-e Baba, separates this range from the Paghman range in the east. The Helmand River also separates the upper Helmand region, which covers the Panjab-Besud area in the south, from the Yak Aolang-Bamian region in the north. South of Koh-e Baba range and its western spurs and west of the Kabul range lie the mountains of central Hazarajat, which form a system of ranges extending from northeast to southwest. In these ranges the greatest heights lie to the east, where they reach an altitude of 13,200 feet. To the south and west, these mountains are bounded by desert plains of Qandahar and Ghor. The Koh-e Baba are dull mountains with sparse vegetation. They have more or less a uniform height, with the highest peak being 17,000 feet at Shah Fuladi, about 20 miles from Ak Sarat Pass.

A sucession of valleys surround the Koh-e Baba range on its southern and northern sides. The valleys on the north, however, differ from the southern valleys in that they fall very rapidly to low foothills which eventually merge into the fertile plains. The northern valleys are shorter and have rich soil, however water is scarce. On the other hand, the southern valleys are longer and wider with many streams and springs providing good sources for irrigation. Towards the south of Koh-e Baba, high peaks separated by narrow valleys gradually give way to hills and upland plateaus. Among these are the elevated plateaus of Besud region, and the broad and green valleys of Shahristan and Dai Zangi, which are the most populous regions of Hazarajat. These valleys are irrigated by the rivers and streams which run in a gorge in the middle of the valleys. Usually these river valleys are choked with gravel and rocks laid down in the winter and moved along with great rapidity by spring when the snow melts.

Although the greater part of the Hazarajat is covered by the Koh-e Baba range, several other mountain ranges also contribute to its rocky physiognomy. Among these ranges, the important ones are the Sang-e Shanda and Koh-e Daman in southern Dai Zangi, covering the

eastern portion of Dival Qol region. In the southwest, a very large mountain range, Pas-e Koh, separates the valley of Ujaristan, Polada and Malistan. In the south, Muqor region is separated from Qarabagh by a small range of Petao, which lies east of Sang-e Masha. In the north, Koh-e Hisar separates the valleys of Yak Aolang in the north from Garmao in the south. In western Dai Zangi, Koh-e Hajigak and Koh-e Darza Darakhtan dominate the region. In the west, Lal wa Sar Jangal region is covered by the branches of Band-e Duakhan. The region around Yak Aolang is covered by the beautiful mountains of Band-e Amir. Thus, the main portion of central Hazarajat lies at an average elevation of 9,000 to 10,000 feet, and therefore, the people have no choice but to stay in sterile, rocky glens and defiles.[41]

Communication and Mountain Passes

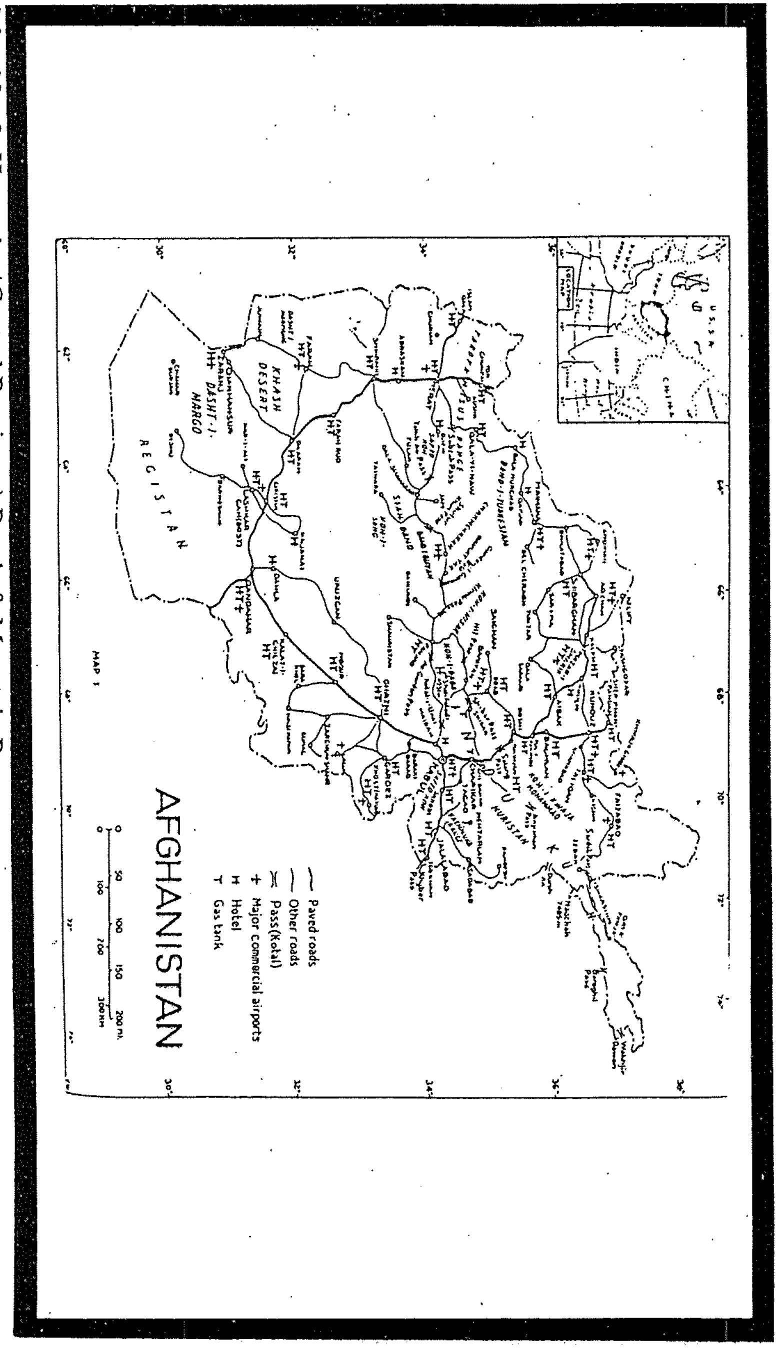
Because of the rocky nature of Hazarajat, communication between its valleys is extremely difficult. People have to travel a long distance through the narrow passes just to visit a village a few miles away. This mountainous character of the land has not only isolated the Hazaras from their non-Hazara neighbors, but also kept them away from each other.

Among these mountain ranges exist narrow and difficult passes which connect the Hazara villages. These passes are used only in the summer, as they are filled with heavy snow in the winter and flood water in the spring when the snow melts. Among the major passes which connect the eastern part of Hazarajat with Kabul are the Shibar, Ashrow and Unai passes. There are several more passes, and Kohzad[42] provides a list of such passes and their approximate heights.

Name of the Pass (Dai Zangi to Kabul)	Elevation (in feet)
Kharpost	10,395
Abgarden	10,560
Markhana	8,712
Nawar	8,910
Khartol	9,570
Khargol (Yaqub Kotal)	9,910
Shinya	9,240
Siahnur	9,570
Diwargol	9,966
Abband	10,626
Penjpai	9,999
Jaogol (Sabzak)	10,230
Unai	10,626
Ashrao	8,349
Takht	7,425

In the north, Hajigak Pass connects the south-central region (Dai Zangi and Besud) with the Bamian region. North of Koh-e Baba, Nil Pass connects the Bamian region with Yak Aolang in the vicinity of Qala Zafer Naib area. Another pass which connects the Hazaras living in the south and north of Koh-e Baba is the Shatu Pass connecting the Yak Aolang with Panjao valley of Dai Zangi. Gao Gardan Pass connects the Panjao in the Besud area to the east. The valley of Nawar is connected to the north with the Besud area through Nawar Pass, and to the south, the Ghazni area through the Shahghana Pass, with Jaghuri through Barihar Pass. Sang-e Masha and Malistan valleys are connected through relatively easily travelled passes. Shahristan, Chizao and Dai Kundi are connected through several passes with Panjao in the north and Chora and Tiri in the south. Dai Kundi and Shahristan are connected through Qarnagh. The south-western part of Besud is connected with Ujuristan through Lakhshug Pass. Further south, the Jaghuri valleys are connected with the Qarabagh region through Nadai Pass. Besides Hajigak, Nil and Shatu Passes, several other passes also connect the Hazaras living on the northern and southern sides of Koh-e Baba: Zard Sang Pass, Dulgha Pass, Siah Reg Pass near the Shah Fuladi, and Dakan Pass. Two of the Hazarajat passes, i.e., Unai Kotal in the east (about 23 miles from Kabul) and Kotal-e Yama Gak in the west (81 miles from Panjab), serve the east-west boundaries of Hazarajat.[43]

Because of these mountain ranges and difficult passes, and because of government neglect, few roads exist in the Hazarajat. The only motorable road is from Kabul to Panjab and to Daulat Yar. Even this road is good only in the short summer months and is closed during most of the winter. Because the streams flood in the spring, this road is washed every year and subsequently requires annual repair. This road starts from Maidan, west of Kabul, and goes westward passing the Unai Pass and entering the Besud region. After passing the Besud region it enters another difficult pass, the Ao-Gardan Pass, after which it enters the Dai Zangi region and reaches Panjab. In a recent map provided by Dupree,[44] several branched roads or trails emerge from Panjao and go in different directions. (Map No.3) One of these goes northward to Niak in Yak Aolang region and passes through Shatu



Map No. 3: Hazarajat (Central Provinces) Roads & Mountain Passes

Courtesy of Princeton Univ. Press, Princeton

Pass. The other goes southward to Shahristan. From Panjab, this road goes toward Daulat Yar and, just before entering the Kirman Pass, is joined by another road at Tara Bulaq coming from the direction of Dai Kundi in the south. After passing the Kirman pass, it enters the Lal wa Sar Jangal region, and before entering Daulat Yar, it passes through another pass, Gardan-e Garmao.

Another road worth mentioning is from Bamian to Naik, which starts from Charikar in the east. After crossing the Shibar Pass, it enters the Bulola town and proceeds further to Bamian city. From Bamian it goes westward to Yak Aolang. In the central Hazarajat there are no roads, and people totally depend on the trails and tracks which run through the gorges and defiles. In southern Hazarajat, however, there are some roads which can be traveled by jeeps. One of these runs from Qandahar in the northeast to Dahla and Tirin. At Tirin this road divides, one branch going north to Ghizao, and the other going east to Uruzgan. The road to Uruzgan goes further to the northeast until it reaches Sang-e Masha. From Sang-e Masha there are two more roads going to the north and south and southwest. The road going to the north leads to Ajrestan, while the eastern and southern roads go to Ghazni and Muqor, respectively. From Ghazni, small unpaved roads go to the Hazara country in the north and northwest. One of them goes to Nawar in the north, which is further connected to Besud in the north, passing through the Dasht-e Nawar.

Hazarajat is connected to the rest of Afghanistan through the telephone and telegraph lines, but these lines are only available at the seat of government and used strictly for official purposes. Panjab, Bamian, and Sang-e Masha have telegraph offices.

Deserts

Although Hazarajat consists of mountain ranges with long, narrow valleys, it also has some noticeable deserts. Among them, the important desert is the Dasht-e Nawar. This desert occupies most of the area between Besud and Mohammad Khwaja, i.e., the eastern part of the upper Helmand. To the northwest of this desert, there are two smaller deserts. They are Dasht-e Kishnak and Dasht-e Mazar. In Qarabagh region, southwest of Zardalu region, another small desert, Dasht-e Jao Mushk, can be found. In the southwest, north of Chihil Khana in the Dahla region, Dasht-e Karu, Dasht-e Langar, and Dasht-e Iganda Chah can be found. In the north of Koh-e Baba, a small desert, Dasht-e Sarkar lies south of Qala Sarkari in Bamian

region.

Rivers

Although a dry mountainous rocky region, Hazarajat nourishes most of the Afghanistan plains with its waters. It forms the main watershed for the Helmand, Hari Rud, Arghandab, Kabul, Farah Rud, and Balkhab rivers.

Hazarajat has been described as the heart of Afghanistan which sends its blood (the water) to the body (the land) of the whole country.[45]

In the north, Murghab River and Band-e Amir Rud which later become Balkhab, flows from its sources in Koh-e Baba region. Tiri Rud, which originates in Malistan region, flows southwest and merge into Helmand River just southwest of Tiri. In the east, Kabul and Logar rivers originate in the earstern Koh-e Baba regions and flow southeast of Hazarajat.

Helmand River

This is the longest river (800 miles) which originates southeast of the Koh-e Baba range near the source of Kabul river at Sar-e Chashma at an altitude of 10,000 feet. It flows southwest for some 200 miles through the gorges of Hazarajat. For the first half of its course, the Helmand flows through barren highland: essentially treeless, roadless and uninhabited areas. Nowhere along the Helmand or its tributaries is there a town of much importance. The mountain ranges of Hazarajat border it into narrow valleys until it enters the southern broad valleys just above the Girishk. Inside Hazarajat, it flows east of Dai Zangi and then flows southwest of Besud region. After crossing the Besud it enters the eastern flank of Shahristan and flows southwest of Ghizao. The important tributaries of Helmand above Ghizao are the Tagao Sokhta Qol and Ab-e Baghal-e Kundi which join together south of Dai Kundi and are then called the Kokharab River, which then joins Helmand north of Ghizao. The eastern tributary of Helmand is the 350-mile-long river, Arghandab. This river, which rises in the Jaghuri area, flows southwest and passes Sang-e Masha near Pul-e Sultan. It then flows southward and enters the Dai Chopan area, crosses the Qalat region and flows westwardly, till it enters the Qandahar region, where it merges with the Arghestan River just west of Qandahar.

Hari Rud

This river originates in the western end of Koh-e Baba, i.e., Lal and Sar-e Jangal region. One of its tributaries is the Sar-e Jangal River which rises at Siah Chashma in Garmao region. The other river which contributes to Hari Rud is Tagao Lal which rises near Sang Qala where it is known as Tagao Surkh Bam. These two rivers flow westward on the north and south sides of Sar-e Jangal valley and merge at a point east of Chakhcharan called Cheragh Dan, in the neighborhood of Lake Mazar, about 20 miles from Daulat Yar. The place where these two rivers join is called Hari Rud.

Band-e Amir Rud

This river arises from the famous spring Kaprak, north of Band-e Zulfiqar in the mountain range of Band-e Amir. This river after emerging from the Sorkhak valley, flows northward and joins the stream of Siah Darah. At the foot of Koh-e Hissar in Yak Aolang region it flows to the northwest until it reaches Dahan-e Khasan, after which it follows a generally northward direction. After crossing the Dahan-e Sharshari, west of Deh Surka, it flows northwest until it reaches Dahan-e Chasht where it starts flowing northward to Balkh. During its course in the Hazarajat, many streams contribute to the waters of the river. The important one is the Tagao Sar Qol which originates near Targhi Pass in Firoz Bahar region. The other important one is Ab-e Ali which rises in the valley of Ali. East of Naik, Tagao Baghalak, Tagao-e Qalandarin, and Tagao-e Kanak joins the Band-e Amir River.

Kabul River

This river arises in the northeastern Hazarajat at Dara-e Sanglakh, which is located east of Unai Pass near the village of Jalrez. It then flows towards the east and southeast, and finally enters the Kabul Valley.

Logar River

This river is about 150 miles long and originates in the eastern mountains of Hazarajat. It flows northward and soon enters the wide and fertile Logar Valley.

The Climate

Hazarajat, being a high elevated mountainous region, is dominated by a cold and long winter. Its climate is mostly alpine tundra,[46] and has been described as extremely cold and dry. While the winters are long and dominated by heavy snowfall and snow storms, the summers, on the other hand, are short and hot.[47] The winter starts by the end of September; the first snow falls in October; and from December on heavy snow falls and lies on the ground for the next four or five months. During this period many communities in the upper valleys are snowbound, most of the mountain passes are closed and communication with the outside world is completely cut off. In Dai Zangi, the snow lies from October until April. In April, the heavy spring rains melt the snow completely, causing the rivers and streams to swell and flood. This flood water brings to the valley rocks and sand, which cause a blockage of roads and great misery to the inhabitants. Many of the bridges are washed and communication within Hazarajat and with the outside world is interrupted. This is an annual ritual. Such flooding not only damages physical structures but, according to Afghan sources, causes a loss of human and animal lives.[48]

Wherever meteorological stations were built, scanty information about rainfall is available. These weather stations are located in Bamian, Lal, Moqur, Nawar, and Panjab showing the annual rainfalls of 1.92, 7.06, 5.5, 5.4 and 9.0 inches, respectively.[49] During the summer months, most of the Hazarajat weather is dry with clear blue skies. Little or no rain falls during the summer months and the days are comfortably warm and the nights are briskly cool.

The greatest heat of the season is usually during the months of July and August, but the temperature is never oppressive. Like its varied topography, the climate of Hazarajat also differs from area to area. To illustrate the climate, it is necessary to follow another classification of the Hazarajat. Such classification will be guided by the elevation of the different regions of Hazarajat. Fortunately, Harlan has provided us with such naturally governed climate classifications:

> "The most elevated and consequently the severest and most inclement inhabitable region includes the following districts, viz., of Hazarrahjaut-h: Dye Zungee, Dye Kundee, part of Besoot. Bulkh-Aba-Balla, and the whole of Hindu Kush. The remarks heretofore made in relation to Dye Zungee will indicate the first climate. The second climate includes those districts adjoining but nearer the plateau. These are part of Beysoot, Bameean, Fouladee, Yakalang, Jaghooree, Gizzao, Bulkh Yaree, Eimak and Kipchack. The third is temperate but colder than Cabul by twenty days. To this are referred Zoulee, Oojiuristan, Nawar and Shaher-i-Staun. The fourth climate comprises the lowest valleys and is nearly identified with the province of Bulkh, including Derrah-i-Essoff, Heibuck, Ghusneeguck, Kamard and Oruzgan, on a similar level."[50]

Flora

Like most of Afghanistan, Hazarajat also lacks greenery and is poorly covered with vegetation. There is no forest in the region and the slopes are bare. In the valleys, however, there are sparse trees like willows, poplars, and few fruit trees, especially in the southern regions. A typical description of the region's landscape is given by Russian Botanists Linchevsky and Prozorovsky, who stated that:

> "The vegetation landscape of the great part of this country are wretched and cheerless, reviving somewhat only in spring, when the grass becomes green, and bright tulips, irises, buttercups and other spring flowers come into bloom. But this bright greenness and vividness of the landscape vanishes in a twinkling as soon as the short moist spring gives place to the burning summer. Sometimes it needs 2-3 days for the emerald green hills to turn yellow-brown and the landscape to become bleak and cheerless."[51]

Similarly, Harlan draws the picture of Hazarajat landscape as:

> "On the ridge of Koh-e Baba vegetation is so feeble that some herbacious plants may be seen exhibiting their flowers within an inch of the ground, the effect is beautiful, as all the surface glows with the dwarfed herbage in a brilliant carpeting of vivid and varied colors. But not a cultivated garden vegetable is to be met with; and nowhere, except in the vicinity of running streams, and the low elevated heights are trees seen."[52]

During the past century, the Hazaras have introduced several new plant species to their land. According to Harlan, the following is the list of wild and cultivated plants commonly found in the different regions of the Hazarajat. The Hazaragi names follow in parentheses.

"Wheat (Gundum), Barley (Jao), Corn (Jouary), Peas

(Mushang), Chick Peas (Nakhud), Broad Beans (Baquli), Lentils (Adus), Turnip (Shalghum), Carrots (Zardak), Cucumber (Badrang), Potato (Kachalu), Tomato (Badinjan Rumi), Eggplant (Badinjan), Onion (Piaz), Garlic (Seer), Melon (Kharbooz), Watermelon (Turboz), Fodders like Lucern (Rishqa), Clover (Shabdar), Bitter Vetch (Shaftal), Rape (Sharsham). They also grow Tobacco (Tambako) on a small scale. Rape is used for dying their wool and clothes with its petal. It is also used in writing the Ta-Wizz, the charms."[53]

A list of the wild plants which are found on the mountains and in the valleys of Hazarajat is given by their botanical, as well as their Hazaragi name by Bellew.

"Elaeagnus sp. (Sinjit), Narcissus (Nargis), Nerium Ordorum (Kharzahar), Onoma Echioides (Gaozuban), Orchis sp. (Salib Misri), Peganum Harmal (Spand), Pistacia Khinjak (Khinjak), Plantago Ispagola (Ispeghol), Populusalba (Spedar), Psalliata Campestris (Samarough), Rheum sp. (Rawash), Tamarix Orientalis (Gaz), Tulipa sp. (Gul-e lala.)[54]

Fauna

Like the limited plant species found in the region, the animal kingdom of the Hazarajat is also limited. Of the inferior animals, wolves, foxes and hares are commonly found in the mountains and populated valleys. The wild sheep and goats (Markhora) are also found in Dai Zangi region. Dai Zangi is also known for its hardy breed of horses. The camel is a scarce animal, especially in the higher mountainous regions of Hazarajat. Where it is found, it is not of much value except for its fine wool used in making Barek-e Shutori blankets. Few horned cattle could be found in the region. Sheep with great tails (Dunba) and goats are abundant. In fact, sheep play an important role in Hazarajat economy. Deer could be found in the mountain ranges which offer springs and fountains. Domesticated dogs and greyhounds can also be found in the valleys. Many kinds of game birds are commonly found in the region. Small and large partridges are in abundance. The brown partridges (Bodina) could be found in the lower valleys. The streams and rivers of Hazarajat are filled with fish of different kinds. The lakes of Band-e Amir are especially known for fish of considerable size which are of yellow color and locally known as Chush.[55] Mules and donkeys which are used for transportation are found in the valleys.

Minerals

Hazarajat has been known to be rich in minerals and in the past, rulers of the neighboring countries tried to subjugate the Hazaras to control the mines. Harlan[56] mentioned Murad Beg of Kunduz, who had attacked Dai Zangi for its mineral wealth. Another Englishman, Wood,[57] reported the presence of copper and sulfur. It has also been reported that there are deposits of jade, beryl, quartz, mica, marble, antimoine, cuivre, aargent, zinc, iron, graphite and gypsum[58] More recently, Griffiths[59] reported the discovery of large and very high grade iron ore deposits near Hajigak in the Bamian region.

Population

Like the rest of Afghanistan, no reliable population statistics are available for Hazarajat. Although an office for population statistics was established in the late 19th century by Amir Abdur Rahman,[60] the population of the country is guesswork. Such a statistic is called an "Intelligent Approximation"[61] or "Intelligent Estimate."[62]

For obvious political and religious reasons the Afghan sources have always avoided discussing the population of the Hazaras. Even in their reports and publications of the 1970's they refer to the population figures of the mid-19th century.[63]

In the 19th century, various European explorers who happened to visit different parts of Hazarajat gave contrasting population figures. These figures were summarized by MacGregor:[64]

Elphinstone	300,000
Burnes	280,000
Leech	160,000
Wood	156,000
Lumsden	120,000
Bellew	50,000

Besides these European sources, an American explorer, Harlan, who visited much of the Hazarajat in the 1830's, gives the figure of 367,000 persons.[65]

Among the contemporary authors, Bacon was the first to theorize about the Hazara population. She provided the numbers by splitting the total figures of 516,000 persons:[66]

Jaghuri	117,000
Besud	100,000
Uruzgan	65,000

Dai Zangi	60,000
Dai Kundi	52,000
Poladi	45,000
Jaghatu	42,000
Mohammad Khwaja	16,000
Dai Mirdad	10,000
Chahar Dasta	9,250

It should be noted that Bacon excluded from this figure the large number of Hazaras living in Lal-wa Sar Jangal, Yak Aolang, Bamian, Shaikh Ali and the town dwelling Hazaras. It is also true that most of her data belongs to pre-World War II and are exclusive to the information obtained through Hazara informants.

More reliable data came into light in the second half of the present century. The Soviet sources have estimated the Hazara population at one million.[67] While several western sources still give approximate figure of 500,000,[68] much higher figures have been shown by various other authors. For example, Poullada[69] determined the population to be between 1.5 to 2 million on the basis of 14 to 16 million for all of Afghanistan. Thesiger[70] estimated the Hazara population to be between 500,000 and 2 million. Caspani and Cagnacci[71] compute it at about 1 million. Contrary to these sources, Dianous[72] provided us with a higher figure of 2 million for the year 1958. To support this, he stated that his source was an Afghan official holding a high and important post, who gave him his assurance that this was accurate and not an estimate. Afghan sources usually do not give exact numbers but show them as consisting of 3 percent of the total population.[73]

If we accept the population percentages given by Jung[74] and accept the population figures for 1971-72 provided by the Afghan government,[75] the Hazara population will be:

Province	Total Population	% Hazaras	Hazaras Population
Ghor	330,000	80%	264,000
Bamian	340,000	80%	272,000
Ghazni	800,000	80%	640,000
Uruzgan	540,000	80%	432,000
Wardak	430,000	40%	172,000

Total Number of Hazaras: 1,780,000

Thus, according to the 1971-72 data, the population of Hazaras in the five central provinces alone was close to 2 million. However, if we consider the large number of Hazaras living in the urban centers like Kabul, Herat, Qandahar and Mazar-e Sharif, and in Anderab, Khenjan, Taleqan, Nemak-ab, Nahrein, Tugai Chashma, Chal, Ishkamish, Derain, Teshkan, Shahr-e Buzurg, and Rustaq,[76] the figures may reach as high as 3 million.

Recent reductions in population due to Russian Invasion and immigration have not affected the Hazara population significantly. The data collected from the refugee camps in Pakistan shows that the Hazara exodus as refugees was minimal when compared to the number of other ethnic groups. For example, one study[77] shows the percentage of refugees based on ethnic groups:

Ethnic Group	Percentage of Refugees
Pashtuns	60.61
Tajiks	26.52
Sadats	8.33
Arabs	3.78
Hazaras	.76

When the total Hazarajat area is compared to the number of people living there, the land seems vary sparsely populated. For example, the total area of Hazarajat, according to Timurkhanov,[78] is roughly between 10,000 and 15,000 square kilometers. The population, according to Poullada,[79] is 1.5 to 2 million. The density of population for all of Hazarajat is approximately thirteen to fifteen persons per square kilometer. However, the maps of Afghanistan issued by the CIA, Washington, D.C., indicate one to ten persons per square kilometer. According to these maps, there are large tracts of land where population is zero while other tracts have up to 30 persons per kilometer. A much lower figure has been given by Dianous[80] who, after quoting the Russian sources, put the figures at four to six persons per square kilometer. A recent Afghan study[81] tabulated the following population density figures.

Province	Person Per Square Kilometer
Ghazni	41.5
Bamian	18.5
Uruzgan	15.1
Ghor	9.5

However, a more recent Afghan source contradicts the figures given in the above table. It gives the figures as 3, 5, 5, 10 and 15 persons per square kilometer for Ghor, Bamian, Uruzgan, Ghazni and Wardak, respectively.[82]

The population figures given on the basis of per square kilometer represent Hazarajat, as a very sparsely populated region. But if one considers the total available or cultivatable land, then Hazarajat seems to be a thickly populated region. Considering this factor, Thesiger described the Hazarajat:

"Almost every fold and wrinkle in the ground to which water could be conducted was cultivated. Walking up the valleys, it often seemed that the cultivation would peter out round the next corner, and yet it would go on, sometimes widening out and sometimes narrowing, until we came to the high valleys where all cultivation ceased. Even the hillsides above the villages were cultivated with rain grown wheat called lalma."[83]

Because of the geographical and topographical characteristics of Hazarajat, few broad valleys could be found. Most of the valleys with sufficient irrigation water are populated and thus form the villages and towns of Hazarajat. Because there are no industries, these population centers are totally dependent upon agriculture, animal husbandry and handicrafts.

The majority of Hazarajat villages are small with populations of less than 500 individuals per village. The following table shows the population density of different Hazarajat regions.[84]

Province	% of Villages (1-500 Persons)	% of Villages (1,000+ Persons)
Ghor	95	1
Bamian	79	5
Ghazni	93	3
Uruzgan	77	9
Wardak	91	5

It is quite evident that this is a region in which the pressure of population on resources is severe and that this problem is becoming increasingly acute as a result of population increase on one hand and resources depletion by overgrazing and the cultivation of steep slopes on the other hand. The amount of land per landowner in Jarib is extremely low as shown in the following table:[85]

Province	Average Land Per Landowner (In Jarib)
Ghor	21.9
Uruzgan	14.6
Ghazni	12.8
Bamian	5.6
Wardak	4.7

While the above table shows the size of land holding units, another study shows a further population pressure on land resources. The following table will clearly exhibit how the Hazarajat population has increased in comparison to the available irrigated land.[86]

Province	Total Population Per Jarib, (Irrigated)
Wardak	22.4
Bamian	22.3
Ghazni	12.6
Ghor	8.6
Uruzgan	4.7

Towns and Villages

Ajrestan

Ajrestan is a small town located north of Malistan region at the altitude of 8,415 feet. The town has few shops, but during the summer the Afghan nomads hold their market here for buying and selling with the Hazaras. The town is connected with Sang-e Masha in Jaghuri district through an unpaved road. In the absence of industries, the entire population depends upon agriculture and animal husbandry.

Anguri

This is a small town situated at an altitude of about 6,600 feet, northwest of Muqor and connected to both Muqor and Sang-e Masha in the northwest.

Akzarat

Akzarat is a village situated east of Panjab in the foothills of Kotal-e Tara Bulaq.

Ashtarlai

Ashtarlai is a small town situated about 39 miles southwest of Panjao and about 36 miles northwest of Khidir, located in a flourishing agricultural valley. The inhabitants mostly depend on farming, herding and handicrafts for their livelihood.

Bamian

One of the largest towns of Hazarajat, Bamian is situated at an altitude of 8,250 feet on Kabul-Bamian-Panjao Road, northwest of the Hajigak Pass. It is the center of Bamian district and the seat of the government.

Besud

Besud is a small town situated on the Kabul Panjao Road east of Panjao, at an elevation of 9,900 feet.

Bidsay

A small village situated west of Leman, Bidsay is well known for its petroglyphs.

Bad-e Asiah

Bad-e Asiah is a small town in the Besud region, situated in the center of the Besud district.

Chora

Chora is a small town situated north of Tirin and located on the western bank of Tirin Rud at an elevation of 5,610 feet. Chora is also called by the name of Joza.

Dai Kundi

A small town in the western part of Dai Kundi region, Dai Kundi is located northeast of Shahristan at an elevation of 8,052 feet.

Daulat Yar

This small town is located west of Lal and Kirman and east of Chakhcharan on the Kabul-Panjao-Herat Road. It is located at the western end of Gardan-e Garmao and Bala Pass. The distance between Daulat Yar and Panjao is about 95 miles.

Deh Mirdad

Deh Mirdad is a small town situated east of Besud and is under the Logar administration.

Daya wa Chopan

A small town situated east of Ajrestan and north of Qalat-e Ghilzai, Daya wa Chopan is under the Qalat administration.

Ghizao

This fairly large town in the Uruzgan region is located southwest of the town of Uruzgan. It is situated on the eastern bank of Helmand River at an elevation of 4,356 feet. The population depends on agriculture and handicrafts for their livelihood. The town is connected to the south with Tirin by an unpaved road. Ghizao is the center of district activity, and Afghan officials reside here.

Khamenil

Khamenil is a small town located between Bamian and Band-e Amir, surrounded by fertile agricultural land. The townspeople are dependent on agriculture and herding for their livelihood.

Khidir

The administrative center of Dai Kundi district and the seat of the Afghan subgovernor, Khidir is approximately at the point of intersection of latitude 34° and longitude 56°. The majority of the population depends on agriculture, livestock and some handicrafts.

Loman

A small town situated between Qarabagh and Sang-e Masha, Loman is located in the foothills of Koh-e Ud and is known for its historical importance due to ancient rock drawings discovered there.

Malistan

Malistan is a small town situated northwest of Sang-e Masha on the banks of the Tirin Rud, at an elevation of 10,494 feet. It is under Ghazni Administration.

Niak

Niak is the center of Yak Aolang district and lies at an elevation of 8,167 feet on the grassy plateau of the Koh-e Baba range. It is located 37 miles north of Panjao. Naik is separated by Dai Zangi through the Shatu Pass. The valley is irrigated by a small river known as Hajdah Nehr which rises from the Band-e Amir.

Nawar

This small town on the southeastern edge of Dasht-e Nawar is situated south of Besud.

Panjao

The largest town in the Dai Zangi region and the seat of the Dai Zangi district, Panjao is located at an elevation of 8,712 feet. Its name is derived from five rivers, Narges, Ghorghori, Tagao Burg, Mur and Siah Darah, which meet at Panjao. It lies just west of Ao Gardan Pass on the Kabul-Herat Road. It is connected with Bamian in the north through Nil Pass and with Shahristan in the south via an unpaved road.

Qarabagh

Qarabagh is a small town located just north of Kabul-Ghazni-Qandahar Road. It is primarily an agricultural town with a few handicrafts.

Sabz-Ab

Sabz-Ab is a small town south of Besud.

Sang-e Masha

An important town and center of the district government, Sang-e Masha is located on the east bank of Andarab River at an elevation of 8,580 feet. Situated 35 miles west of Ghazni-Qandahar Road, it is accessible by two recently constructed roads diverging from the main road at Qarabagh and Muqor.

Sar-e Jangal

The only important village in the western part of Hazarajat, Sar-e Jangal is located east of Chakhcharan at a distance of 57 miles west of Panjao. It has a small bazaar, a school and government offices.

Shahristan

Shahristan is an important town in the southern Dai Zangi region, situated at the western bank of the Helmand River at an elevation of 6,930 feet. It is located southeast of Dai Kundi and north of Ghizao.

Uruzgan

This fairly large town is situated at a distance of 175 miles northeast of Qandahar on the bank of the Tirin River and is about midway between the waters of Helmand and Arghandab Rivers. Uruzgan is situated on the large open plain at an elevation of approximately 5,000 feet and is enclosed on every side by high mountains. The seat of the provincial government, Uruzgan is connected with Ghazni and Qandahar by unpaved roads. Because of its central location, it serves as the outlet market for the agricultural products and handicrafts of the surrounding communities.

Yak Aolang

Connected with Panjao through the Shahtu pass, Yak Aolang is a small town situated north of Panjao across the Koh-e Baba range.

Zardalu

Zardalu is a small village east of Qarabagh. Located in the foothills of a mountain pass, it is situated over the first high watershed that divides the basin of Tarnak from that of Arghandab.

Places of Interest

Band-e Amir

Hazarajat is fortunate to have some of the world's most beautiful scenery in what Kohzad[87] described as one of the wonders of the world. Band-e Amir, as this area is called, is situated at the latitude 30°50' north and longitude 67°12' east in the district of Yak Aolang. Lying at an elevation of about 9,500 feet, Band-e Amir is stretched out along the valley of a stream from which it takes its name. Forty-five miles east of Bamian, this area is accessible only through three difficult mountain passes: Shahidan Pass (9,945 feet), Shibartan Pass (10,235 feet), and Khan Kotal (11,660 feet).[88]

Band-e Amir consists of five lakes, namely Zulfiqar, Pudina Panir,

Haibat, Ghulaman and Qanbar. Among these, Lake Zulfiqar is the largest and Lake Ghulaman the smallest. The most beautiful among these lakes is Lake Haibat, which is also the deepest. The lake's rose colored walls and crystal clear blue waters provide a marvelous scene. Lake Haibat, with its sapphire colored water, looks like a jewel against the barren hills in the background. Lake Pudina is next in beauty with its white walls which look like cheese. The waters of Band-e Amir originate from a spring known as Kaprak, which is about 9 miles from the sanctuary of Band-e Amir. Zulfiqar is the uppermost and the largest of the lakes, being about 4 miles long. The second of the lakes, the Band-e Panir, lies immediately below the Band-e Zulfiqar and is about 150 yards across. The third lake, Band-e Haibat, is about 2 miles long and 500 yards wide. The fourth lake, the Band-e Qanbar, is a small pond. Fifth, the Band-e Ghulaman, is three-quarters of a mile long. The spectacular scenery of the Band-e Amir, with its sapphire blue waters, straight pink cliffs, and the nearby white colored shrine of Ziarat (tomb of a Hazara saint), creates an almost fairyland impression for visitors.[89]

Buddha Citadel at Bamian

One of the most commercialized tourist spots of Afghanistan lies in Bamian. It consists of mostly small caves, but the most striking feature is the giant statue of Buddha which overlooks the valley of Bamian. This place was a Buddhist center from the 1st to the 6th centuries, A.D., and served as a sacred place for Buddhist pilgrims.

Shahr-e Barbar

The ruins of King Hurin's city, Shahr-e Barbar, are located in the northwestern Hazarajat beyond Firoz Koh Yak Aolang district. The walls of the city, made of hewn stones and fired bricks, are now found in ruins.

Chihl Burj

These ruins are also situated northwest of Yak Aolang Valley. Although it is known as Chihl Burj (40 towers), actually it has more than 300 towers. In history, this town was related to the Barbar Shah and legends show it as the capital of his kingdom.

Sang-e Khane

This is an artificial cave located in the Koh-e Brun in the lower end

of Besud region. Kohzad has recorded a legend about this cave which tells us the following:

> "Near this cave once lived a prince and a princess. Astrologers had charted the prince's fortune and warned him against marriage; for if he were to marry, a wolf would devour him. But nevertheless, the prince, who loved the princess to distraction, married her, hollowing out a cave in the heart of the mountain where they might dwell forever after in peace and tranquility. But sad to relate he did not escape his fate, for on the very night of his marriage the princess turned wolf and devoured him."[90]

Hephthalite Inscriptions of Uruzgan

In 1953, a British historian, Professor Bivar, during his visit to Uruzgan, found several boulders with inscriptions in Greek-Hephthalite. The location of these boulders is a few miles north of Uruzgan city on a caravan trail. The inscriptions are easily seen and photographed. Though preliminary, Professor Bivar[91] could read and interpret the inscriptions as follows:

The first inscription reads:

BO*OSSOLOZOOLOMIHROOO MOHOZIKI-LO

"Bo(g)o SSaho Zovolovo Mihroziki," meaning

"The divine and glorious king of Zabul, Mihira (Kula)."

According to Bivar, while the script is Greek-Hephthalite (a branch of the Greek alphabet), the dialect is Middle Iranian. The first word has a missing letter which let Professor Bivar to question it. According to his interpretation, if the third letter is considered to be "G", then the first word of the inscription will become "Bogo," a royal title which in Middle Iranian means "Divine." "Saho" in Middle Iranian means "King." The next word, "Zovolovo," is similar to the Hephthalite coins and inscriptions and corresponds to Zobol of Jabula; thus, "Saho Zabol," or "King of Zobol," the official title of Mihirakula dynasty. The last word, "Mihirakula," is the name of the famous king who ruled the region in about 500 A.D.

Bivar supposed that the presence of these ancient inscriptions in the Uruzgan region meant that it was an important part of the kingdom of Zabul. The purpose of the inscriptions would have been to inform

travelers proceeding along these tracks of the name of the ruler of the camps where they would shortly arrive.

Rock Drawings of Jaghuri

Professor Bivar, in 1962, also discovered rock drawings in the village of Bidsay in the district of Jaghuri.[92] He found that the engravings on the rock at Bidsay are mostly figures of ibex, but that at the upper right-hand corner may represent two men in combat with swords. In the region of Rig Gardun, besides petroglyphs, several inscriptions and graffiti were also found on the boulders. These rock pictures in the Rig Gardun present the sketches of hunters, showing them thrusting their long spear at the standing ibex. It is not known for certain who drew these figures and inscriptions, but Professor Bivar came to the conclusion that either Hunas (Chionites and Hephthalites) during the 4th century A.D., or the Mongols during the 13th century A.D., who invaded this part of the country, left these historical monuments. He based his theory on the finding of similar ibex groups in the Soviet Kazakhistan and Tajikistan and a large number in Mongolia. For example, rock drawings of ibex in Uzbekistan closely resemble those of Bidsay, and it is claimed that they are dated from about 1000 B.C.

Kafir Qalah

This is a small, well-preserved stone fort about 10 miles north of the town of Tirin in the district of Uruzgan. Five miles north of this fort lies a large boulder bearing petroglyphs which represent mostly ibexes and closely resemble those in the Ghorband Valley.[93]

Kaftar Ghar

This is a cave situated in the district of Ghizao in the upper Helmand region. This cave got its name from the cluster of pigeons living inside. Though not yet studied, the signs of pre-historic habitation are clearly visible.[94]

Shah Kurghan

In the district of Ajristan there exists a conspicuous tumulus (a sepulchral mound) which the local Hazaras call the "Shah Kurghan," or the "Royal Tumulus."[95]

Koh-e Arus

This is the highest peak in the Koh-e Baba range. In the foothills of this peak lie the two green valleys of Mur and Tagao-Barg. The peak is situated north of Panjao, in the Dai Zangi district. Because of its beauty, this peak is called the "Koh-e Arus," or "The Mountain of the Bride."

Shahr-e Gholghola

These are the ruin of a once prosperous city which was demolished by Chengiz Khan during his campaign in Bamian Valley. The name is derived from Persian and means the "City of Noise." Others refer to it as "Silent City" or "Screaming City." The Mongols themselves have called this city "Mao Balegh," meaning the "Cursed City."[96]

Azdaha, or the Dragon

This is a crest in the earth about 90 feet long and situated about nine miles from Bamian.

Shahr-e Zohak

These are the ruins of an ancient town destroyed by Chengiz Khan's army in the year 1222. It is said that during the attack, Chengiz Khan's grandson, Mutugen, was killed by the people of this town while defending their fortress. In return, Chengiz Khan demolished the town and the surrounding valley and killed most of the inhabitants. These ruins are situated atop 350-foot cliffs overlooking the valley of Tagao, Bamian. These ruins are also known as the "Red City" due to the red colored cliffs and the surrounding valley. There are many legends among Hazaras about this city and one of them tell us the following:

> "This fortress was ruled by a great king known as Zohak. To protect himself from his enemies, the king kept two serpents on his shoulders, whose diet was said to be the human brain. The local population had to offer one of their members to provide the daily diet for these serpents. One day one of the serpents attacked the king, ate his brain, and disappeared in the nearby valley."

Besides these tourist spots, Kohzad has mentioned several other historical sites in Dai Zangi, Dai Kundi and Besud. Such ruins of ancient structures could be found in Ghargharah, Lal, Kerman and Sang Takhta. [97] Further archeological surveys and excavation will

enable us to learn more about the ruins of Hazarajat.

References

1. Riazi, Kulliyat: 220
2. Turkman: 707
3. Qamus-i Jughrafia, 4: 214
4. Harlan: 103
5. Sachs: 4
6. Le Strange: 349
7. Juvaini, 1:328
8. Bivar, Inscription: 112-118; Ibid, Petroglyphs: 79-88
9. Dupree, Afghanistan: 313
10. Kohzad, 2 (6): 1-21
11. Dupree, Afghanistan: 313
12. Ibid: 312
13. Ibid: 314
14. Sachs:4
15. Dupree, Afghanistan: 316
16. Qamus, 4: 210
17. Ibid, 4: 201
18. Davydov: 33
19. Bellew, Races: 113
20. Ibid, Inquiry Into: 35
21. Leech, Suppl. Acct.: 334
22. Ibid: 334
23. Ibid: 337
24. Masson, 2: 224
25. Elphinstone, 2: 212
26. Masson, 2: 224
27. Todd, 354
28. Broadfoot: 346
29. Imp. Gaz. India, 13: 84-85
30. MacGregor, 2: 319-320
31. Hayat Khan: 303
32. Thornton, 1: 257
33. Moorcraft: 384
34. MacGregor, 2: 382
35. Ferdinand, Preliminary Notes, 37: 11
36. Ibid: 12-13
37. Dulling: 11
38. Kabul Times Annual: 175, 190, 265, 268
39. Qamus, 4: 202
40. Jung: 6
41. Gaz of Afghanistan, 4:289
42. Kohzad, 2: 14
43. Qamus, 4: 201, 203
44. Dupree, Afghanistan: 482-486
45. Qamus, 4: 202
46. Gen. Atlas: 18
47. Qamus, 4: 212
48. Ibid: 213
49. Stat. Pocketbook: 35
50. Harlan: 113-114
51. Linchevsky & Prozorovsky, 2: 186
52. Harlan: 110
53. Ibid: 111
54. Bellew, Journal: 477
55. Hay, 87: 349
56. Harlan: 134
57. Wood: 128
58. Gen. Atlas:42
59. Griffiths: 89
60. Faiz: 876
61. Poullada, Pushtun Role, 1: 2
62. Dupree, Afghanistan: 43
63. Kakar, Pacification, 4: 1
64. MacGregor: 328
65. Harlan: 113
66. Bacon, Obok: 6-7
67. Bol'shaia Entsiklopediia, 2: 31
68. Schurmann, Mongols: 32; Encyclopedia Britanica, 2; 199
69. Poullada, Pushtun Role, 1:2
70. Thesiger, Hazaras, 121: 313
71. Caspani & Cagnacci: 17
72. Dianous, 19: 73
73. Gregorian: 33
74. Jung: 6
75. Population & Manpower: 12
76. Jarring, 35: 80

77. Afghan Resistance: 181
78. Timurkhanov: 34
79. Poullada, Pushtun Role, 1:2
80. Dianous, 19: 75
81. Statist. Pocketbook: 3
82. Amin et al: 16
83. Thesiger, Hazarajat, 29: 87
84. Amin et al: 154
85. Stat. Pocketbook: 25
86. Amin et al: 164
87. Kohzad, 2: 13
88. Hay, 87: 348
89. Ibid: 349
90. Kohzad, 2:13
91. Bivar: 112-117
92. Ibid: 79-89
93. Ibid: 117
94. Ibid: 118
95. Ibid: 118
96. Wolfe: 52
97. Kohzad, 2:1-21

3

The Language, Hazaragi

The Hazaras, without any exception, speak Persian, which has been described as an "Archaic Persian." Although archaic in nature, it essentially resembles the new Persian in its structure. However, because of its peculiarities, the Persian of the Hazaras can easily be distinguished from the Persian spoken in Kabul and Herat.[1] Among these peculiarities, the more noticeable is the presence of Turkish words which are not found in any of the Persian dialects spoken in Afghanistan. Besides this, Hazaragi also differs from Afghan Persian dialects due to a large number of Mongolian words which gives it a touch of alienness. Hazaragi has been compared to Anglo-Romany (Gypsy English) in that in both languages an alien vocabulary was set in the grammatical framework of another language.[2]

History

It is not known when the Hazaras forgot their Mongolian language and became Persian-speaking. There is no reference about their language from their settlement in Hazarajat during the 13th century

until the period when they were attacked by Babar in the 16th century. They were still Mongolian speaking during Babar's time. By the time the western explorers met them and recorded their observations, none of them spoke Mongolian. All they had from their original language were a few words for which they could not find proper substitutes. This shows that the Hazaras abandoned their original language for their newly acquired language sometime between the 16th and the 19th centuries. Dulling suggested a more precise period, i.e., the end of the 18th century for such a change.[3]

Though many authors agree that the Hazaras accepted their new language from the original inhabitants of Hazarajat, i.e., the Tajiks, it is not known for sure about the original language of pre-Mongol Hazarajat. It does not solve the problem just by accepting the theories presented by Bacon[4] and Schurmann[5] that the language of the original inhabitants was Persian. Having doubts about such theories, Morgenstierne opposed such a simplified theory by stating that:

> "Nothing is known about the ancient language of Bactria or of Herat--the so-called Herawi of Ansari is only a Persian dialect--or of the country now inhabited by Hazaras and Aimak."[6]

If the language of the original people was not Persian, then one can speculate about the presence of some other languages spoken in present day Afghanistan. Among them, Pashtu can be easily excluded from such a list, as Afghans never existed at that time in this part of the country. According to Raverty, during the Mongol's invasion of Afghanistan,

> "... the Afghans at this time are unheard of; they were not yet strong enough to take part in the affairs of those times, and as their Afghanistan, the parts around the Takht-i Suliman, for they had not extended very far beyond its neighborhood."[7]

Dulling thus suggested that "... it seems unlikely, however, that old Pakhto ever had an influence on the old dialect."[8]

If not Pashtu, then people speaking the Uzbek language could have some influence on the Mongols' new adopted language. The historical records do not suggest such a possibility. The Uzbaks were never present in these areas and their first appearance was caused by the invasion of Mohammad Shaibani (1500-1510), an Uzbek ruler of Transoxiana. Most of the region controlled by Shaibanis were north of Oxus and thus they never established themselves permanently in and around Herat.

An Indian dialect or some form of Sanskrit could also be part of the language of the original inhabitants. Before the Turkish dynasties of Ghaznavid and Ghorid, the Hazarajat was under the Buddhist Kushans. Thus, while Kabul was under the control of the Hindu king Hindu Shahi, the rest of Afghanistan like Zamindawar, Bost, Ghor, Qandahar, and Sistan were under the Buddhist Kushans.[9] Because Buddhism and Hinduism have their roots in Central India, these rulers and their people must have spoken some kind of an Indian dialect, perhaps influenced by Sanskrit. Therefore, Dulling[10] believes in such a possibility by stating that in medieval times the inhabitants of the area spoke some form of mixed Indian and Persian dialect, with Persian gradually gaining the upper hand.

The recent findings of Bivar in Jaghuri and Uruzgan districts of the Hazarajat also suggest that the original people of these areas might have spoken some form of Greek language. The inscriptions found in these parts of Hazarajat are written in the Hephthalite script, a branch of the Greek alphabet. The language of these inscriptions is, as suggested by Bivar,[11] a mixture of Middle Iranian dialect and Sanskrit. He suggested that the inhabitants of these regions spoke such a language and that the period of such inscription originated around 500 A.D.[12]

Turkish could possibly be one of the languages of the original people. This point could be strengthened on the basis that the present-day Hazarajat was under the rule of Turkish dynasties of the Ghaznavids and the Ghorids for a long time. Many Turco-Khalajs and Qarluqs were settled in some regions of central and southern Afghanistan during the periods of the 10th and 13th centuries. The presence of a large number of Turkish words in the language of the Hazaras also suggests such a possibility. However, the presence of Turkish in the Hazaras' language does not suggest that they borrowed these words from the original people of Hazarajat but leads us to some other possibilities. For example, Bacon suggested that:

> "Chaghataian ancestors of the Hazaras may already have begun to adopt Turkish speech when they moved into the Hazarajat, for many more Turkish words than Mongolian survived in their language."[13]

Another evidence which supports the theory of the Hazaras borrowing Turkish words from their pre-Hazarajat arrival from their neighbors in the north is the statement of Juvaini who stated:

> ". . . the soldiers of Mongol armies and their chieftains sent to conquer Iran and what is today Afghanistan, were made up not only of Mongols, but most of them were 'Sons of Tajiks and Turks." [14]

During the following years, after the Mongol invasion of Afghanistan, the Turkish influence on the overall language was further increased by the arrival of more Turkish people under Timurid forces.

During the Mongol invasion of the regions south of Oxus, most of the area was governed by Tajik people. Herat, Gharjistan, Farah, Savistan and Ghor were all governed by Tajiks, the Kurt Maliks.[15] Even after the Mongol invasion of these regions, most of the areas were ruled by these Tajik Maliks as vassals to the Ilkhans of Persia. Their language was none but Persian and thus when the ancestors of the Hazaras established themselves in the occupied region, they found themselves surrounded by Persian speaking inhabitants.

It seems possible that the Hazaras accepted their language from the Tajik population; however, it is not possible that they adopted Persian immediately upon their arrival. The process which was responsible for creating the Urdu language in the north-central and northwestern part of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent seems to have occurred in the Hazarajat, too. The process is the existence of "bilingualism." It is possible that for a significant time, both Mongolian and Turco-Mongolian existed side by side with Persian. As Mongol soldiers started marrying the local Tajik women, and because of decreased renewal of Mongolian forces from their homeland, Mongolia, the Mongol language started declining. Their acceptance of Islam also contributed to the decline of their original language. As all the Muslim missionaries, the Sayeds, came from Persia under the Ilkhanid rulers, and later their preaching in Persian might have caused the disappearance of Mongolian.

The downfall of one language and the rise of another is an old phenomenon. It does not happen in one or two generations, but requires sufficient time and the complete disappearance of a language in different steps. Elias elaborated on these important steps and stated that:

> "The first step is that the mass of them (not a few of the chiefs) should come to use both the old and the new language with equal facility--and this alone is a process requiring many generations. The next step is that the old language should fall into disuse and be forgotten. The second stage may, perhaps,

take less time to work itself out than the first, but it must, nevertheless, require a period measured in generations."[16]

It is most probable that the Hazaras lived for several generations as bilingual, and then by the 18th century completely forgot their original language. According to Efimov,[17] the transition process of Mongolian to the language of the subjugated Tajiks was completed by the end of the 19th or the beginning of the 20th century. At the present time, with the exception of a few words, none of them speak Mongolian. In the meantime, the newly acquired language was given a new name, "Hazaragi," that is, "the language of the Hazaras, (pronounced Hazara-GHEE)."

Vocabulary

The vocabulary of Hazaragi falls into several groups. The first group consists of the words retained from their original language, Mongolian. These words, for the most part, refer to Hazaragi kinship terminology, parts of the human body, and animal names. Following is a list of Mongolian words found in different Hazaragi dialects:

Hazaragi/Mongolian:

Kinship Terminology	English Meaning
Abagha	Uncle (paternal)
Achul	Grandmother
Baja	Wife's sister's husband
Beri	Bride, daughter-in-law
Bola/Boli	Cousin, son of maternal aunt
Egechi	Wife's sister
Jei'a	Sister's children
Qudagho	Son's/wife's/mother's sister's children
Taghai	Uncle (maternal)
Khatu	Wife, woman

Terms for Body Parts	English Meaning
Alagha	Palm
Borbi	Heel
Ereka	Thumb
Chejin	Breast
Ghuya	Thigh
Dalu	Shoulder or Shoulder blade
Kaghan	Buttocks
Qachar	Forehead
Qangshal	Nosebone
Shighai	Ankle
Toghai	Elbow
Tulgha	Top of the skull
Tughul	Calf
Jur	Arm
Wuqra	Eye
Chagu or Chaghu	Temple or forearm
Qash	Eyebrow
Kuntoghai/Toghai	Elbow
Katuk	Adam's apple
Kala	Chin
Qabargha	Rib
Shangak	Nail
Qichig	Armpit
Koma	Cheek
Soji	Upper part of the Buttocks
Burut	Mustache

Animal Names	English Meaning
Bora	Gray horse
Borgut	Eagle
Burew	One-year-old animal
Ilginak	Bat
Jargalurgei	Spider
Jarya	Hedgehog
Jarapa	Porcupine
Kakjal/Korjak	Very young lamb
Qaji	Vulture
Qasabagha	Tortoise
Khuro	Chicken
Taolai	Rabbit
Wargha	Fowl
Qushkar	Male sheep
Chapush	Kid
Sarka	Male goat
Changish	Crab
Qurqurraq	Toad

Kodi	Lizard
Tabargha	Marmot
Ba'i	Bear
Gholja	Gazelle
Takhtaizen	Pigeon

Besides these, there are a large number of other Mongolian words common in every-day usage. These include words for describing dwelling structures, natural land, warfare, and village administration, and can be found at the end of this chapter.

The second group of Hazara vocabulary words consists of those of Turkish origin.

Hazaragi/Turkish:

Kinship Terms	**English Meaning**
Aba	Mother
Ata	Father
Baba	Father, elder man
Azna	Sister's husband
Taghai	Uncle (maternal)
Wuqai	Step-brother
Elchi	Matchmaker

Animal Names	**English Meaning**
Baiqush	Owl
Kela	Lizard (yellow)
Koyak	Ram
Kushgar	Ram, sheep
Tai	Horse (year old)
Taka	Male goat
Bagha	Frog

Body Parts	**English Meaning**
Kaora	Stomach
Kirpak	Eyelash
Qabagh	Eyelid
Qari	Shank
Qash	Eyebrows

Household and Village Terms	**English Meaning**
Aghel	Stable, neighboring village
Apsaqal	Village elder
Julga	Valley
Soi	Valley
Tala	Field, pasture
Qishlaq	Winter quarters
Qabordagh	Meat pot
Ailaq	Summer quarters
Kunda	Plow
Toshak	Mattress

Besides a large number of Mongolian and Turkish words, the Hazaragi vocabulary also consists of a third group, words borrowed from Pashtu.

Hazaragi	**Pashtu**	**English Meaning**
Gadola	Gadawal	To mix
Makh	Mach	A kiss
Munti	Munt	To cut
Mama	Mama	Uncle (maternal)
Kaka	Kaka	Uncle (paternal)
Kilkin	Kilkin	Window
Chaoki	Chaoki	Chair
Dagli	Degli	Cooking pot
Gadwad	Gadwad	Mixture
Tole	Tole	Sum, total
Dal	Dal	Group or party
Kala	Kalai	Cloth

The fourth group is the languages of the sub-continent of Indo-Pakistan which have also found their way into Hazaragi. While words related to Urdu/Hindi have definitely been introduced through Kabuli Persian and Pashto, Sanskrit seems to have been absorbed from the original inhabitants of Hazarajat who, according to Dulling, were speakers of some mixture of Indian and Persian languages.[18] Dulling's suggestions could also be supported by the findings and interpretations of Bivar.[19] Some of the Hazaragi words with Sanskrit origin are given by Dulling:

Hazaragi	**Sanskrit**	**English Meaning**
Alay	Female friend	Lover
Cheg	Chekite	A thought
Ilpalak	Chapala	Lighting

Koddi	Godhika	Lizard
Oqra	Aks	Eye
Palal	Palala	Straw
Hazaragi	**Urdu**	**English Meaning**
Bali	Bili	Cat
Kuta	Kuta	Male dog
Wala	Wala	Owner

The fifth group is words from European sources, mostly English. With increased intermingling of the Hazaras with the neighboring Afghans and Tajiks, and especially when they returned home after living in urban areas or after serving in the Afghan armed forces, they brought a large number of words, thus enriching the Hazaragi vocabulary. Of special importance are the words of modern terms, usually of European origin. Many of these western terms have been transformed into a Pashtu version and have thus been absorbed in modified forms, for example:

Hazaragi	**English Meaning**
Bax	Box
Radyo	Radio
Motar	Automobile
Sarves	Bus
Tilifon	Telephone
Pensel	Pencil
Wasket	Waistcoat

The sixth group is the large number of Arabic words which have become a necessary part of Hazaragi. These words are mostly related to religious affairs and observations because of the Arab missionaries (Sayeds) influence on the religious duties of the Hazaras.

Hazaragi/Arabic	**English Meaning**
Kafir	Infidel
Askar	Soldier
Umar	Age
Qa(h)r	Anger
Maraz	Sickness
(H)aiwan	Animal
Kitab	Book
Mazar	Tomb
Tabaruk	Sacred

The seventh group is a small number of Russian words used by the Hazaras. Efimov[20] gave the following list of these Russian words.

Hazaragi/Russian	**English**
Chainak	Teapot
Patnus	Tray
Kalawish	Galoshes

It is interesting that while the Hazara language was influenced by neighboring languages, the Hazaras contributed little to their neighbors' languages. A few Mongolian words could, however, be found in the languages of the region. Masson, et al,[21] mentioned that the words "Ulus" and "Jirga" are from old Mongolian borrowed by the Afghans. Similarly, Dulling[22] has mentioned the Mongol words "Bol" ("meaning promise") and "Bahrav" (meaning "calf") in the Baluchi language which have been absorbed in these languages.

Parts of Hazara Speech

It has been suggested by both Dulling[23] and Efimov[24] that grammatically Hazaragi is very similar to the Persian spoken by the Tajiks in Afghanistan. In its own structural bounds it does not depart from the framework of the mass of Tajik dialects spoken in Central Asia and Afghanistan. A brief discussion about the Hazaragi grammar would hopefully serve the purpose of this chapter. Those who wish to study Hazaragi grammar in more detail are referred to the works of Dulling and Efimov cited above which cover the subject in greater depth.

Nouns

Hazaragi nouns have nothing peculiar about them and follow most of the rules of standard Persian. However, they depart slightly when plural nouns are formed. For example, instead of using the Persian "an" and "ha" to form plural nouns, the Hazaragi plurals are made by adding the letter "a":

Birar	Brother	Birar-a	Brothers
Gao	Cow	Gao-a	Cows

Sometimes "o" is added instead of "a" to form the plural:

Birar	Brother	Birar-o	Brothers
Damat	Son-in-law	Damat-o	Sons-in-law

When the noun ends in "a," then "go" is added to form the plural:

Gusla	Calf	Gusla-go	Calves
Baja	Wife's sister's husband	Baja-go	Wife's sisters' husbands

A noun is sometimes modified and shortened when used in the singular. However, when a plural is formed, the original Persian form of the noun is retained and "o" is added at the end:

Hazaragi	**Persian**	**English**
Guspo	Gosfand	Sheep
Guspando	Gosfandha	Sheep

A plural noun is also formed by adding the "jat." In regular Persian, the "at" serves the same purpose of "jat"'

Hazaragi Singular	**Hazaragi Plural**	**English**
Mewa	Mewa-jat	Fruit

The Persian "Izafa" is also omitted when a plural noun is formed:

Hazaragi Singular	**Hazaragi Plural**	**English**
Aba-e ma	Abe-mo	My mother

A plural noun is formed by duplicating the single noun. For example, to make plural of "piece," "teka," it is repeated twice:

Hazaragi Singular	**English Singular**	**Hazaragi Plural**	**English Plural**
Teka	Piece	Teka-teka	Pieces

The Persian "Izafa" is also omitted when the plural noun is formed:

Hazaragi Singular	**English Singular**	**Hazaragi Plural**	**English Plural**
Aba-e ma	My mother	Abe-mo	Our mother

Sometimes, collective nouns are also formed by repetition, either in a simple or in a slightly modified form of the first half of the word:

Hazaragi	**Hazaragi**	**English**
Aughan	Aughan Maughan	Afghans and people like Afghans

It is interesting to note that the initial of the second consonant always starts with the letter "m":

Bizu Mizu	Monkey and animals like a monkey
Bacha Macha	Child and someone like a child
Kola Mola	Cap and things like a cap

To show the diminution of a noun, a suffix, "ak," is added:

Khwar-ak	Little sister
Makh-ak	Little kiss
Yak-ak	Only one

Pronouns

Like nouns, all the Hazaragi pronouns are the same as Persian pronouns. However, minor modifications do occur occasionally. When a pronoun ends with "man," it changes to "ma":

Hazaragi	**Persian**	**English**
Kitab ma	Kitab-e man	My book

(Note the omission of Izafa "e.")

When pronouns end with an "a," it is changed to "o"

Shumo	Shuma	You

The Persian suffix of "esh," when following the third person, is always changed into "shi":

Hazaragi	**Persian**	**English**
Khatu-shi	Khatun-esh	His wife
Khane-shi	Khana-esh	His house
Sar-shi	Sar-esh	His head

Demonstrative pronouns are the same as those of standard Persian:

Ena	This
Ona	That
Enami	These
Onamu	Those

In contrast to the above, the Hazaras also use some peculiar demonstrative pronouns which are not found in other Persian dialects.

Otta	That
Etta	This

Adjectives

These are the same as those of standard Persian. However, when adjectives are used in the form of comparison, they differ slightly from Persian. For example, they use a peculiar form of suffix, "vari," for comparison:[25]

Az ma vari	Like me

They also use "kada" to replace a missing comparative:

Az ma kada	Than me

The most commonly used comparative adjective is "tar." It is used as a suffix and replaces the regular Persian "tarin."

Hazaragi	**Persian**	**English**
Khub	Khub	Good
Khub-tar	Khub-tarin	Better
Reza	Reza	Small
Reza-tar	Reza-tarin	Smaller

Sometimes, instead of using an adjective, the noun or verb is used twice. This is to indicate emphasis on the noun or verb, and usually means "more" or "very."

Laghar	Weak
Laghar-laghar	Very weak

Another interesting adjective mentioned by Dulling[26] is the term "assa," which he believes to be the fetrified form of a Mongolian ablative in "asa." The word is not "assa" but simply "sa," as it appears more than twice:

Chalpas-sa	Face upward
Pandas-sa	Face downward

Verbs

Verbs and conjugations follow the general rules of Persian. However, for the past participle, the Hazaras use "gi" at the end of the verb:[27]

Pukhta	To cook
Pukhta-gi	Have cooked
Karda	To do
Karda-gi	Have done
Shushta	To wash
Shushta-gi	Have washed

A special Hazaragi verbal form is "totak," which is used in the sense of "must." Usually this form is placed before the verb to emphasize the verb:

Totak Ku	Must hurry
Totak bor	Must go

Another peculiarity in Hazaragi verbs is the presence of the Mongolian converb imperfect, "ji."[28] This "ji" or "alji" is used as a compound verb, the first element of which is usually a Mongolian verbal stem or Mongolian stem plus "ji":

Qara-ji	To look
Duta-ji	To flee

In daily usage, there are more compound verbs which have "alji" rather than just "ji." These compound verbs with "alji," on the other hand, have more Persian verbal stems than Mongolian stems. When such a compound verb is used with the suffix of "alji," then the Persian causitive verb "kardan" is not used.

Iwamura and Schurmann[29] have recorded such verbs:

Jang-alji	To fight
Tord-alji	To fear
Khand-alji	To laugh
Girya-alji	To weep

Adverb

Most of the modifier, conjunctive and interrogative adverbs follow the general rules of Persian grammar. However, when an interrogative

particle such as "ava" is used, it is placed at the end of the sentence, and not at the beginning as commonly used in standard Persian. Another difference is that when interrogative adverbs are used for questioning, the usual Persian word, "chara," is replaced with another word, "bachi" ("why").

Conjunctions

There is no difference between the conjunctions used in Hazaragi and Persian:

Wa	And
Lakin	But
Aga	If

Interjections

Here, again, Hazaragi follows the Persian interjections.

Kho	Darn it
Afsus	Alas
Wai	Oh
Shabash	Hurrah

Post-Prepositions and Pre-Prepositions

Hazaragi post-prepositions (in, of, with, to, on, from, by, at, for) and pre-prepositions follow the common Persian rules:

(Post)	Qati	With
(Post)	Ra	To
(Post)	Az	From
(Pre)	Da	In, to, on
(Pre)	Ba	For
(Pre)	Barai	For
(Pre)	Bar	On

Phonetics

In general, Hazaragi follows the Persian phenology; however, the Altaic element is well preserved, and, according to Dulling, it is due to the Mongolian influence.[30] Because of such influence, Hazaragi retains its peculiarity--something which is alien to standard Persian. Unlike Persian, where izafat "e" is used to express the possessive (of),

Hazaras use an "e" in the following manner:

Hazaragi	Persian	English
Kitab-e ma	Kitab-e man	My book
Birar-e ma	Biradar-e man	My brother

One peculiar phonetic element is the dropping of the final "n." Usually under such circumstances, the final "n" is preceded by a vowel. This phenomenon is due to direct influence of Mongolian on the Hazaragi phenomes:[31]

Hazaragi	Persian	English
Dedgo	Dedgan	Hearth
Memo	Mahman	Guest
Respo	Resman	Rope
Tamo	Tamam	Finish

To this rule there is an exception when the final "n" is retained:

Miskin	Poor
Narian	Stallion

One of the special phonetic peculiarities of the Hazaragi language is the omission of "h." Whether "h" is at the beginning or in the middle, it is always omitted:

Hazaragi	Persian	English
Azara	Hazara	Hazara
Akomat	Hakomat	Government
Tumat	Tuhmat	Blame

The other phonetic peculiarity of Hazaragi could be found in the use of consonants. These include the following:

1. Changing "b" to "w":

Hazaragi	Persian	English
Awur	Abar	Cloud
Sawz	Sabz	Green
Waz	Baz	Open
Awreshum	Abreshum	Silk

2. Changing "f" to "p" and vice versa:

Paqat	Faqat	Like
Fecha	Pecha	Lock of hair

Folad	Polad	Steel

3. Changing "f" to "u":

Aughan	Afghan	Pashtun
Kaush	Kafsh	Shoe

4. Changing "d" to "t":

Abati	Abadi	Populous
Damat	Damad	Son-in-law

5. Changing "r" to "l":

Balg	Barg	Leaf
Solakh	Sorakh	Hole

6. Changing "n" to "l":

Ghalimat	Ghanimat	Better than

7. Omission and addition of "d":

Duz	Duzd	Thief
Tandur	Tanur	Oven

8. Addition of prothetic vowel before "s" or "sh" initials:

Ishpish	Shipish	Lice
Oshtur	Shutur	Camel
Ister	Sitara	Star

9. Omission of "w" or replacement by "b":

Khandan	Khwandan	To read
Bairo	Wairan	Abandoned
Nonbai	Nonwai	Baker

10. Changing "b" to "w":

Shaw	Shab	Night
Chow	Chob	Wood
Aow	Ab	Water

Hazaras maintain a clear distinction between "q" (qaf) and "gh" (ghain). This distinction is due to their original Mongolian language.[32] However, in some regions of Hazarajat, they could not distinguish between "k" and "q," and there is some confusion between these two

sounds. This is especially true for the Hazaras who live in the regions surrounded by Afghans.

Onomatopoeia

Words of such categories do exist in Hazaragi. Most of these words are the repetition of the first word, either in a simple or a slightly modified form of the first half of the word. For example, for boiling water, the onomatopoeic is "bur-bur." The sound of thunder is "ghur-ghur." The sound of bells is represented by "jiring-jiring." The barking of the dog is "bow-bow" and the cry of a cat is represented by "meaw-meaw." Knocking at the door is "tak-tak." Most of these are Mongolian in origin.[33]

Numerals

These are exactly the same as standard Persian.

Text and Poetry

Though Hazaragi is fairly standard and easily understood by the inhabitants of the regions of Hazarajat, minor differences do exist, especially in vocabulary. These differences give each region its own individuality. The following quotation from Dulling provides an example of how much difference exists between regions:

What is your name?	Chiz nam dari?
	Nam to chiz khel-a?
	Nam tu sa ya?
	Sa nam dari?[34]

Some of the Hazara stories and poetry recorded by foreign sources have been taken from oral traditions since none of them existed in written form. Besides these oral traditions, they do not have any written literature, and the book, **Jaburi Ansar,** reported by both Leech[35] and Bacon,[36] does not exist.

Though the Hazara tales and poetry may not be of intrinsic literary beauty, they do, however, show the simplicity and sincerity of the people and their beliefs. They also throw light on the mentality and the outlook of the Hazaras who sing the songs and tell the stories.

In order to fully appreciate Hazara literature, a sample from different Hazarajat regions will be presented on the following pages. Some of this material has already been reported by western sources, such as Sakata, Iwamura, Efimov, Ferdinand, Schurmann and

Dulling. The main reason for quoting this material is to make minor corrections in the text and their translations. Besides these written forms, Sakata and Sakata have also recorded a Hazara Ghazal and a Char Baiti which are available on a long play recording.[37] In addition to this material, some new text from published sources of contemporary poets like Amir Mohammad Amir and Mohammad Ali Ikhtiar will be included. The following sample will be included to represent Hazaragi literature: a Dai Kundi tale, a Dai Zangi Ghazal, a Du Baiti, a Char-Baiti, a Yak Aolang tale, a Jaghuri Makhta, a Dai-Do (yodeling), a riddle, a lullaby, and a few proverbs.

Dai Kundi Tale

Babe Anwar Khan ma ra koi kat ki biya da Khidir boro. Inja amadam. Roze bega shud. Khidir na raftum. Asp khu ra swar shudam. Tufang khu ra gardo kadam, Son-e khan-e khu rai shudam. Da ra raftam. Khatak bisyar bud. Dehqu-e khatak dar ma do dana khatak award. Yek dana khatak shi ra kanjagha kadam. Yek dana shi ra pusht-e asp khorda rai shudam. Kheli ra raftam. Da kotal rasidam, ki asp ma gir kat. Reqab kadam, ki na raft. Pas-e pusht khu togh kadam ki khatu az dum-e asp ma da dist khu grifta. Guftam: "Dum-e asp-a ela ku." Ela na kat. khatak a porta kadam. Tufang az gardo-e khu griftam. Kartus dadam. Tufang a son shi bala kadam. Dum-e asp a ela kat. Bogh zad. Dist o pai khu ra sun-e dan-e tufang kat. Asp su kat. Khud khu ra sar bala porta kat. Basam ista shud. Basam khatu az dum shi grift. Basam tufang a son shi bala kadam. Guftam: "Ela ku ki to ra mukshum." Ela kat. Son shi togh kadam, ki moi shi paqat da zamin rasida; roi shi, damagh shi paqat roi pishak ware.[38]

Translation

Anwar Khan's father called me to come and (told me) to go to Khidir. I came here. It became dark (so) I did not go to Khidir. I mounted my horse. I slung on my rifle. I set out towards my home. I started on the road. There were many mellons (in the fields along the road side). A peasant brought me two melons. I slung one melon on my back and started eating the other one while mounted on horseback and starting my journey. I went a long way. When I came to a pass, my horse stopped. I spurred it on, but it did not go. Looking behind me, I saw that a woman had seized the tail of my horse. I said, "Let the tail of the horse go." She did not let go. I threw the melon and slung the rifle. I loaded it. I raised my gun toward her. She let the tail of the horse go

and made a loud noise. She raised her hands and feet against the mouth of the rifle. (Seeing this) the horse was frightened and bucked. The horse stood again, and the woman seized its tail again. Again I raised my rifle toward her and said, "Let (it) go or I shall kill you." She let (it) go. I looked at her and saw that her hair almost reached the ground and that her face and nose were like that of a cat.

Ghazal

Sakata, who studied and analyzed Hazara music, explained that Ghazal is a love song, usually consisting of a dialogue between the faithful and unfaithful lovers. The stylistic elements of such a Hazara song consist of three distinctive characteristics which are not found in the songs of other ethnic groups. She further explained that the first characteristic of Hazaragi Ghazal is the melody which is based on two intervals of a fourth. Special mention to be made is the frequent use of open fourth which distinguishes the Hazara music from the rest of Afghanistan music. The second stylistic element in the Hazara song is the use of falsetto voice on the highest notes. The third element is the use of short introduction to each verse or section, sung on meaningless syllables, most often based on intervals of a fourth or a fifth. While all the three elements are true to all Hazara love songs, the first two are often considered to be the style of Jaghuri.[39]

Dai Zangi Ghazal

Dosh raftam pal-o shi
  Sob na bud, nim shaw bud
Yek makh-ak istadam
  O mah qasharak da khaw bud

Nagah bedar shudak
  Pir khusur madar-e o
Zad taraqas-e bala
  Khisht na bud nim zao bud

Sag-e o qaoqala kad
  Ta bakanad pai ma ra
Kuftam-esh ham chu
  Misle kola pas partaw bud

Kola yak so kapi yak so
  Ma be kadam dotaji

Kar-e dota ra to dani
  Ki sada budaw bud

Abu Sahl ashiq-e roi ta
  Shud ay mah-e naw
O majal yad to bud
  Khana ki da garmaw bud

Goftam-esh yar ki en
  Ashiq-e derina-e to ast
Goft wakh kor shawum
  Sar ma tai jam khaw bud.[40]

Translation

I went to her side, it was not morning
  but middle of the night.
I took one little kiss while that
  moon-face was sleeping.

Suddenly her old mother-in-law
  woke up,
In the glitter, she threw on me
  not a sheep dung but half a brick.

Her dog barked to bite my leg,
  I kicked the dog like playing the
game of "Kola Pas Partaw."

My cap went on one side, my shoes
  the other side, and I fled.
You know the task of fleeing
  which always means to run.

Oh! My new moon, Abu Sahl have
  fallen in love with your face.
Do you remember the time when we
  were living in Garmaw?

I said to her that I am
  her old lover.
She said that Oh! My head was
  under cover and I was sleeping.

Du-Baiti

A Du-Baiti consists of a poetic unit of two baits or couplets which is sung without the use of any instrument. It could be part of a love story, war story, lamentation, or a message. Following are some of the Du-Baiti in which the poets Mohammad Ali Ikhtiar and Amir Ali Amir (both from Quetta, Pakistan) lament about the present conditions of the Hazaras.

Du-Baiti

Ajab qom-e ajab qom-e Hazara
Ki ihsas-e khodi hargiz na dara

Ba misle par-e kauk tit-parak shud
Ba har jai ki ufdad kad guzara.[41]

Translation

Alas! What a strange nation the Hazara is
Who do not have the sense of self-esteem
Scattered like the feathers of a partridge
And settled down wherever they found themselves

Du-Baiti

Roh-e Changezi na dari dar badan
Akh! Akh! Ay sahib-e dasht-e Tatar

Hech ham dari khabar ay be khabar
Raft as dist-et zamam-e Ikhtiar.[42]

Translation

You who do not have the spirit of
  Chengiz Khan
Alas! Alas! You who once ruled the
  deserts of Tatar

Are you aware of your own ignorance
Everything that you once owned is gone.

Du-Baiti

Aly! Ghal ghal na ko dist ma da ash a
Yak-ak makh-ak bisto az shoi ma tasha

Translation

My love! Do not make a noise
as I am preparing food.
Go ahead. Take a small kiss
without my husband's knowledge.

Char-Baiti

The most popular poetry among Hazaras is the Char-Baiti, which consist of baits or couplets. In order to complete one Char-Baiti, the melody must be sung and then repeated. In his kind of poetry, prose and music are combined and sung to a repeated melodic line. With the accompaniment of a Dombura, the simplicity, directness and minor-sounding qualities, Char-Baiti could be compared to Irish folk tunes. Use of Dombura, though not common in Hazarajàt, is becoming very popular in recent years. (Plate No. 1)

Char-Baiti

Alif kado rokh-et lal ast rafiq jan
Ba roi nazok-et khal ast rafiq jan

Agar roz-e do se bar-at na binum
Daqiqa-esh da sar-am sal ast rafiq jan.

Noor Bagum Jan, ma kunam sail-e ta
Qumri shawum baiyum ba dalan-e ta

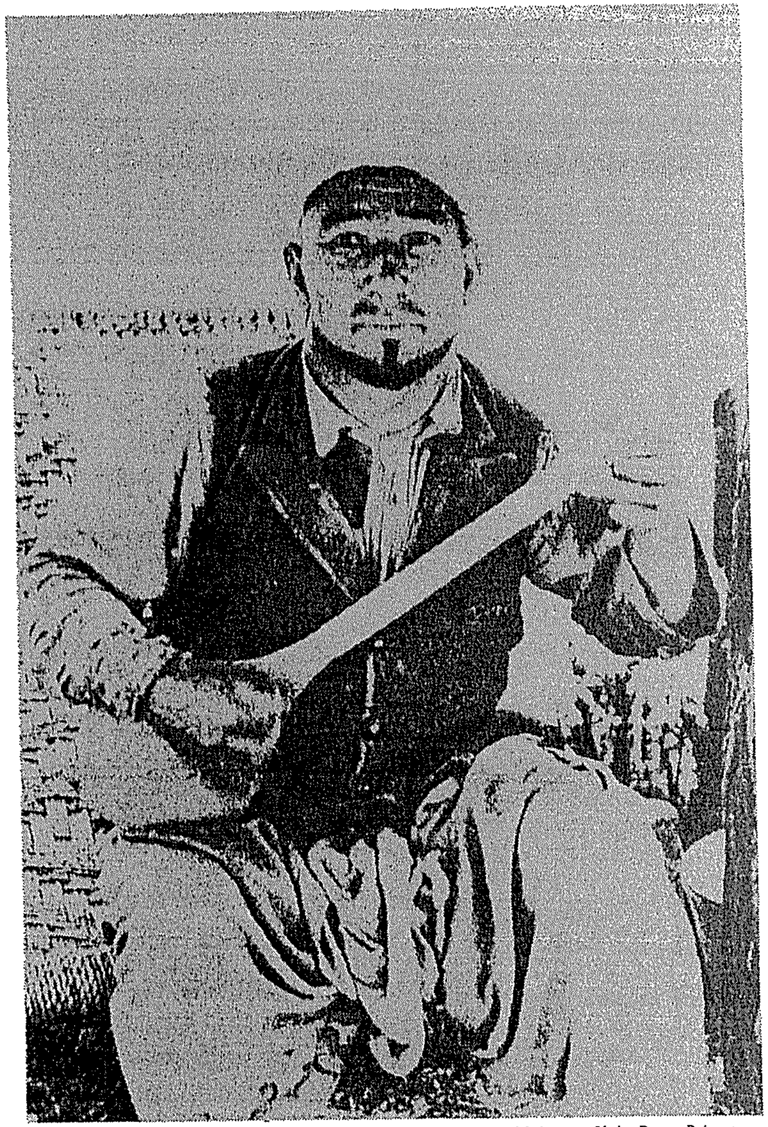
Sadaf shawum dar gireban-e ta
Banda faqir me kasham tawan-e ta

Ba amra-yet rafaqat me kunam man
Rafiq-e ba sidaqat me kunam man

Za zahmata-e ki dar janam tu kardi
Ami ma astam ki taqat me kunam man

Ma qurban-e qad-e naotak rasai to
Sar-e khod ra bo manam pesh-e pai to

Sanak ma me bini zare to na miya
Kudam kam khidmat-a kadum barai to.



Courtesy of Princeton Univ. Press, Princeton

Plate No. 1: A Hazara Musician with His Dombura

Translation

My love, your face is like a ruby and
My love, your tender face has a mole on it.

If I do not see you twice or thrice a day
Every moment of it passes like a year on me.

Noor Begum Jan, I can become a beggar for you,
I will become a dove and come to your compound

I will become a pearl of your necklace.
For your love's sake, will live like a beggar.

I am fulfilling my friendship with you,
A sincere friendship that I have for you.

How much hardship that you have given to me,
It is only me who could endure them.

I will sacrifice myself on your beautiful height.
I will place my head on your feet.

You see me dying and your heart does not melt,
Have I not suffered enough in your love?

Char-Baiti

Aly! asp-e semand alghar wa bulghar
Jilao az nuqra, tang-esh az gul-e nar

Sahar gahi ma ra ba yar rasani
To jao beshko ki man bosom lab-e yar

Translation

My dear dun-colored horse,
The one with silver harness and with
saddle of pomegranate bud.

Take me early in the morning to my love,
While you will eat the barley,
I will kiss the lips of my love.

Char-Baiti

Na tab daram na jan-em me kona dard
Na me danam chara rang-em shuda zard

Aly! mardom mogoya garm-e zamin a
Khodam danam ki ishq-e nazaneen a

Translation

Neither I have a fever nor my body aches,
And I do not understand why I am getting pale.

My love! People tell me that it is due
to the heat of the soil,
But I know that it is due to the love
of a beautiful girl.

Yak Aolang Tale

Da ja-e mo khalq bar-bar ailaq mora. Ghair az deqana dega kas na mumna. Pak shi ailaq mora. Deqana kho becharago az dist-e kar-o kisht misht kho rafta na mitana. Amo kas-e ki mal dara wa gao dara, amo ziatar mora da ailaq. Aga mal-e ziad dara wa gao-e ziad dara, o kho be zu mora, amo tamam-e kas-e ki yak gao dara, du gao dara, amo am da tagao na mumna. Tamam shi ra ailaq rai mukuna. Ailaq khub zindagi-a. Yek ao-e az era ki sail kani, yek alam miarza. Ma am burum da ailaq. Rasida khat tanistam. Aly ma uqas khob khabar na darum, ami shindum khana bisyar rafta da Sughulak. Da shan ma Sughulak ajab jai ya. Az e pesh mardum daidi mo raft. Aly Kuchi-a o ra girifta. Show-mowq aly na manda.

Translation

In our place, every spring the people go to the mountain pasture. Except for the peasants, nobody is left behind in the village. The poor peasants, because of their farming, cannot go. Those who have livestock go to the mountain pasture. People who have a large number of cattle and sheep must go. However, even those who have one or two cows must also go. They sent all of them to the mountain pasture. Life in the mountain pasture is great. If one considers only its water, it is worth a fortune. I will also go to the pasture and may join them. Friend, I do not know much, but this much I have heard: that a large number of families have gone to Sughulak. I think Sughulak is a

marvelous place. Before people used to go there with much enthusiasm, but now that the nomads (Afghans) have confiscated the pastures, there is no pleasure in going there.[43]

Makhta

The Hazara War of Independence not only created a greater sense of unity among the Hazaras, it also created a new genre in their literature and poetry. This special addition is known as Makhta (to lament, eulogy). Because of the war, tens of thousands of Hazara women lost their fathers, husbands or sons. In memory of the deceased, they began reciting eulogies. These eulogies not only reflect profound grief, they also show the qualities of the Hazara warriors. These are especially popular among the Urozgani and Jaghuri Hazaras who suffered more than any other Hazaras during their War of Independence. In the following Makhta, Faiz Khan, a Jaghuri leader from Qarabagh, is eulogized.

Jaghuri Makhta

Faizo Kho rai shuda
Khuda negah dari mona

Asp-e Faizo Kho takhta ma ya
Kho-e Faizo Kho rekhta ma ya

Faizo Kho kushta shuda
Kat khak o kho shusta shuda

Shabash Faizo Kho ma
Amir yak-ak Kho ma

Translation

Faizo Kho has started his journey
God will be his savior

Faizo-Kho's horse is coming with speed
And the blood of Faizo-Kho is dripping

Faizo-Kho has been killed
He is soaked in blood and dirt

Hurrah! my Faizo-Kho
My one and only chief.

Dai-Do (Yodeling)

One of the peculiarities of Hazara poetry is the presence of yodeling, which is not found among any other ethnic groups in Afghanistan. Yodeling is sung with abrupt change from chest to head tones, and the reverse, i.e., from a natural tone to a falsetto tone and back. Yodeling is the most common song among the shepherds, and one occasionally hears them singing. No musical instruments are played during yodeling.

Ma qurban-e biland gashto wa shishto-e yar
Fida-e zer lab khandan-e yar

Kodam harf-e ghalat az ma shinidi
Fida-e be sabab ranjidan-e yar

Dar sar-e zena dai do wa do aide he
Dilbar Jan dai do he wa do aide he

Dist pa-esh khena dai-do he wa do aide he
Sabar Jan dai-do he wa do aide he

Translation

My love, I will sacrifice myself
  on your beautiful manners
And I will die for the smiles
  under your lips

Did you hear any wrong words from me
I will certainly die for your
  anger without any reason

On the steps of the ladder,
  dai do wa do aide he
Dilber Jan dai do he wa do aide he
Her hand and feet are colored with henna,
  dai do he
Sabar Jan dai do he wa do aide he

The last part of the yodeling consists of meaningless words which are sung in order to change the tone of the voice.

Riddle

Like the children of other nations, the Hazara children also enjoy riddles. Most of the Hazara riddles are formed in poetical ways. For example:

Ta khana bal khana
Mene she bulbul me khana?

Translation

Upstairs, downstairs
In the center sings the Nightingale?

The answer is the tongue which is surrounded by the upper and lower lips.

Besides riddles, some of the beautiful pieces of Hazara poetry can be found in children songs. The children also use many interesting tongue twisters.

Lullaby

Lullabies are few in number in comparison with love songs. Hazara lullabies are simple and very brief, seldom consisting of more than a few lines. The mother takes the baby into her arms, lays him on her lap or puts him into a cradle (Gaoara) and, while rocking, sings a lullaby. Compared to adult songs, there are but a few. Lullabies usually contain some vague words with no meanings. For example:

Lalay lalay ate-aya
Lalay lalay ate-aya

Ate-bacha shikar rafta
Da koh-e gholja zar rafta

My husband has gone for hunting
To the mountain where gazelle are found.

Lalay lalay babe-aya
Lalay lalay dede-aya

Pas-e-darga khuro ya
Tanb-e darga jaro ya

(Be careful while opening the door)
As the hen is sitting behind the door
And the door is shut with the broomstick

Lalay lalay ate-e aya
Lalay lalay ate-e aya

Nan malida tai tepshi ya
Bisto, bokhar, mamor beshi

The sweet dish is under the cover
Take it, eat it, and keep quiet

Lalay lalay bacha-e aya
Lalay lalay deda-e aya

Proverbs

Hazaras have innumerable proverbs. Not knowing a proverb is usually considered a sign of ignorance, and the old folks impress their audience by using proverbs in their conversations. They respect their proverbs and use them as their guide during their daily life. Most are of practical nature and, of course, objective and apply to their customs and traditions. For additional material on this subject, see Shahristani[44] who has dealt in detail.

Gham na dari buz bekhar

If you have no worries then buy a goat.

Buz-e garg az gala dur

A managed goat keeps away from the flock

Bach-e mardum az khod na musha

Blood is thicker than water.

Besides the Mongolian words mentioned in the text, following are additional words obtained from the works of Lessing,[45] and Vreeland.[46]

(Be careful while opening the door)
As the hen is sitting behind the door
And the door is shut with the broomstick

Lalay lalay ate-e aya
Lalay lalay ate-e aya

Nan malida tai tepshi ya
Bisto, bokhar, mamor beshi

The sweet dish is under the cover
Take it, eat it, and keep quiet

Lalay lalay bacha-e aya
Lalay lalay deda-e aya

Proverbs

Hazaras have innumerable proverbs. Not knowing a proverb is usually considered a sign of ignorance, and the old folks impress their audience by using proverbs in their conversations. They respect their proverbs and use them as their guide during their daily life. Most are of practical nature and, of course, objective and apply to their customs and traditions. For additional material on this subject, see Shahristani[44] who has dealt in detail.

Gham na dari buz bekhar

If you have no worries then buy a goat.

Buz-e garg az gala dur

A managed goat keeps away from the flock

Bach-e mardum az khod na musha

Blood is thicker than water.

Besides the Mongolian words mentioned in the text, following are additional words obtained from the works of Lessing,[45] and Vreeland.[46]

Hazaragi/ Mongolian Vocabulary

Hazaragi	Mongolian	English
Aghai	Akhai	Lady
Anar	Anar	Pomegranate
Walang	Aolang	Meadow
Akh	Aky-e	Oh! Alas!
Bajargha	Bajargha	To boast
Basa	Basa	Again
Bughsi	Bughsi	To be angry
Bulamal	Bulamal	Hidden
Bulgho	Bulkha	To rinse
Bur	Bur-bur	Description of boiling, bubbling
Buta	Buta	Bush
Boti	Buta (adj.)	Into pieces, fragments
Chiqi	Chiki	To stuff, push
Chimco	Chimki	To pinch
Dagh	Dagh	Mark
Darogha	Darogha	Chief
Dam	Dom	Sorcery
Dombura	Dombura	Musical instrument
Duta	Dutagha	To run away
Ebsi	Ebsite	To yawn
Eika	Eke (n./adj.)	Mother
Elchi	Elchi	Messenger
Ail	Ele	Cardimum
Ghor	Ghor	Description of a sound like thunder
Geta	Gete	To stalk
Kobde	Gobde	To beat
Degree	Degree	Top, on
(in Hazaragi, means upside down)		
Qrut	Grut/Qurud	Sour curd in solid form
Kalcha	Kalchi	To talk nonsense
Kekera	Kekere	To belch
Koge	Koge	To swell
Kotal	Kotyl	Mountain pass

Hazaragi/ Mongolian Vocabulary

Hazaragi	Mongolian	English
Aghai	Akhai	Lady
Anar	Anar	Pomegranate
Walang	Aolang	Meadow
Akh	Aky-e	Oh! Alas!
Bajargha	Bajargha	To boast
Basa	Basa	Again
Bughsi	Bughsi	To be angry
Bulamal	Bulamal	Hidden
Bulgho	Bulkha	To rinse
Bur	Bur-bur	Description of boiling, bubbling
Buta	Buta	Bush
Boti	Buta (adj.)	Into pieces, fragments
Chiqi	Chiki	To stuff, push
Chimco	Chimki	To pinch
Dagh	Dagh	Mark
Darogha	Darogha	Chief
Dam	Dom	Sorcery
Dombura	Dombura	Musical instrument
Duta	Dutagha	To run away
Ebsi	Ebsite	To yawn
Eika	Eke (n./adj.)	Mother
Elchi	Elchi	Messenger
Ail	Ele	Cardimum
Ghor	Ghor	Description of a sound like thunder
Geta	Gete	To stalk
Kobde	Gobde	To beat
Degree	Degree	Top, on
(in Hazaragi, means upside down)		
Qrut	Grut/Qurud	Sour curd in solid form
Kalcha	Kalchi	To talk nonsense
Kekera	Kekere	To belch
Koge	Koge	To swell
Kotal	Kotyl	Mountain pass

Lakhshum	Laghsim	Viscous, sticky
(in Hazaragi, means smooth)		
Mal	Mal	Livestock
Naqchi	Naghachu	Relatives on the mother's side
Nilbusu	Nilbusu	Tears, mucous
Nilgha	Nilkha	Infant
Piala	Pila	Dish
Sabada	Sabada	To bustle
Sabda	Sabda	To drill
Sabada	Sabaghda	To strike with a stick
Sandali	Sandali	Chair, seat
Saughat	Saukh-a	Gift, present
Suragh	Suragh	News
Toghai	Takhai	Smooth part of the ankle bone
Taka	Teke	Wild goat, uncastrated
Toi	Toi	Wedding
Tolughai	Tolughai	Head, tip
Toti	Toti	Parrot
Toghi	Tokhui	Elbow
Ughur	Ughur	Mortar
Ulus	Ulus	People
Qabchi	Qabchi	To squeeze
Qachar	Qachar	Cheek
Qaichi	Qaichi	Scissors
Qaimagh	Qailmagh	Food, solid part formed after boiling milk
Khatu	Khatun	Lady, queen
Khoru	Qoru	Gray hen
Qudugho	Qudughoi	Mother of one's son-in-law or daughter-in-law
Qur	Qur	Expressing the sound of snorting
Jalgha	Zalgha	To connect, to join

Hazaragi/Turkish Vocabulary

In addition to the Turkish words mentioned in this chapter, here are some more words taken from Hony's (Turkish-English Dictionary).[47]

Hazaragi	Turkish	English
Agha	Agha	Master, gentleman
Apsaqal	Aksakal	Village leader
Astar	Astar	Lining, undercoat
Ayal	Ayal	Family
Badur	Batur	Brave
Baiqush	Baykush	Owl
Bel	Bel	Spade
Bojul	Bejil	Knucklebone
Charchabuk	Charchabuk	In haste
Chuqur	Chukur	Hole, ditch
Dagh	Dagh	Mark, band
Dabdaba	Debdebe	Pomp, display
Toshek	Doshek	Mattress
Dush	Dush	Shoulder
Dut	Dut	Smoke
Gharghara	Gar-Ghara	Gargling
Khal	Khal	Mole
Khaya	Khaya	Testicle
Khirkhira	Khirkhira	Adam's apple
Qaburgha	Kaburgha	Rib
Qamchin	Kamchi	Whip
Kasa	Kase	Bowl
Qash	Kash	Eyebrow
Qat	Kat	Fold
Qashuq	Kashik	Spoon
Qaimagh	Kaymak	Cream
Qaf	Kef	Foam
Qafgir	Kefgir	Perforated skimming spatula
Kekra	Kekre	Acrid
Kapak	Kepek	Bran
Shav	Shav	Slope, downhill
Takhta	Takhta	Wooden board

Kirpak	Kirpik	Eyelash
Maya	Maya	Yeast, ferment
Mehtar	Mehtar	An official
Nana	Nane	Mint
Ojagh	Ojak	Hearth, furnace
Parcha	Parcha	Piece
Pishi	Pishi	Cat
Pisht	Pisht	Noise made to drive cats away
Piala	Piyale (also in Mongolian)	Cup
Ram	Ram	Tame
Sandali	Sandalye	Chair
Tava	Tava	Frying pan
Tazi	Tazi	Greyhound dog
Taka	Teke	Uncastrated goat
Talash	Talash	Hurry
Tambal	Tembel	Lazy
Tepa	Tepe	Hill, summit
Tez	Tez	Quick, prompt
Tika	Tike	Piece, patch
Yar	Yar	Friend
Zagh	Zagh	Crow

References

1. Morgensteirne: 8
2. Dulling: 14
3. Ibid: 13
4. Bacon: Hazara Mongols: 6
5. Schurmann: Mongols: 25-26
6. Morgensteirne: 28-29
7. Raverty: 20
8. Dulling: 45
9. Dupree, Afghanistan: 313
   Bivar, Petroglyphs: 86-87
10. Dulling: 47
11. Bivar, Inscription: 113-114
12. Ibid: 117
13. Bacon: Hazara Mongols: 13
14. Juvaini, 1: 92
15. Raverty: 21
16. Elias: 80
17. Efimov: 9
18. Dulling: 47
19. Bivar, Inscription: 112-118
20. Efimov: 23
21. Masson and Romadin, 1:292
22. Dulling: 44
23. Ibid: 29
24. Efimov: 8
25. Morgensteirne: 81
26. Dulling: 31
27. Morgensteirne: 6
28. Dulling: 28
29. Iwamura and Schurmann: 515
30. Dulling: 17
31. Ibid: 20
32. Ibid: 21
33. Lessing: 36, 37
34. Dulling: 38
35. Leech, Supp. Account: 333
36. Bacon, Inquiry Into: 232
37. Sakata and Sakata, Folk Music of Afghanistan
38. Iwamura and Schurmann: 510-511
39. Sakata and Sakata, Folk Music of Afghanistan, Vol. 2; Sakata, Music of the Hazarajat, M.A. Thesis, 1968, University of Washington, Seattle; Sakata, Music in the Mind: 178-188
40. Ferdinand, Preliminary Notes: 39; Dulling: 41
41. Amir, Amir Ali, Zulfiqar, Oct. 1977: 32
42. Ikhtiar, Mohammad Ali, Zulfiqar, Oct. 1977: 46
43. Efimov: 93
44. Shahristani, Adab, 21: 45-104
45. Lessing, Mongolian-English Dictionary
46. Vreeland, Mongol Community and Kinships
47. Hony, Turkish-English Dictionary

4

Religion And Superstitions

Hazaras are the followers of Asna-Ashar or the "Twelver" Shia faith of Islam. A small number of them, i.e., Shaikh Ali Hazaras, also follow the Ismaili or the "Seveners" section of the Shias. Thus, Hazaras are the only people of significant numbers in this predominant Sunni country who follow the Shia faith. Because of this situation, the Hazaras have faced torture, persecution, slavery, and finally loss of their country and independence to their Sunni neighbors. Because of their religious beliefs they have been called Kafir (infidels), Jews of Khyber[1] and dogs by their Afghan neighbors. Holy wars (Jehad) have been declared several times and Hazaras were burned to death during their holy wars. Their places of worship, Takya Khana and Matam Khana, have been looked upon with suspicion and they have been alleged to perform strange and peculiar rituals. These places were either demolished or converted to mosques. After the occupation of the Hazarajat in 1893, Sunni clergymen (Mullas) were appointed throughout Hazarajat to convert the Hazaras by force into the Afghan faith; however, not a single case of conversion has been recorded. Religion has been mentioned repeatedly as the basis of the Afghans'

discrimination against the Hazaras.[2]

It is ironic that most of the Afghan allegations against the Hazaras are biased and have no foundation. In general, Afghans don't really know the theological differences between themselves and the Hazaras. When asked about the differences between the two religious sects, the Afghans will answer that the Hazaras are the "Rah-e Ghalat", i.e., on the wrong path. By this, they mean that the Hazaras believe that Ali is a Prophet.[3] Those who know the religious beliefs of the Hazaras will find these Afghan accusations untrue.

As mentioned before, the overwhelming majority of the Hazaras belong to the Asna-Ashar or the "Twelver," the perfect form of the Shia faith of Islam. This is the only sect among the Shias who still adhere to the term Shia, while the others have adopted the terms of Ismaili and Zaidi. On the other hand, the Afghans are the followers of Orthodox Hanafi sect of Sunni Islam, and therefore, are the true representatives of the Sunni sect. Thus, by referring to the Hazaras instead of the Shia, and to the Afghans instead of the Sunni, the reader will find it easier to compare the two sects. This discussion will exclude the so called Sunni Hazaras of Qala-e Nao, Ismaili Hazaras of Shibar, and the Shia Afghans, the Turi and Bangash, who live in Kohat and Kurram districts in Pakistan.

History

Prior to discussing the religious differences between the two sects, it is necessary to find the answers for the following unsolved questions: 1) What was the religious belief of the Mongol ancestors of the Hazaras at the time when they settled in Hazarajat? 2) When and from whom did they accept their present religion? These questions once again lead us to the difficult situation faced while tracing their history.

Hazaras have no knowledge of their ancestors' religion. Neither do they know when they embraced Islam. All they know is that they were Muslim since the time of the Prophet Mohammad. Turning to the historical records, there are but few materials which shed light on their background and enable us to attempt to answer the above questions.

To find the answer to the first question we have to go back to the land of the Mongols--Mongolia. The only reliable source which refers to the period of Chengiz Khan and his ancestors is the **"Secret History."** It is difficult to find any reference beyond the period of Chengiz Khan's reign. It is unfortunate that no scholar, administrator,

Christian priest, or other traveler who might have come in contact with them documented anything about the religion of the medieval Mongols. In fact, there is not much to tell. Their religious beliefs were as simple as they were. They were the people with no dogma, no temple, no fixed form of worship, and no religious doctrines. Professor Sun, who derived most of his information about Mongol religion from the **"Secret History,"** tells us:

> "Belief in one God--visualized not anthropomorphically in human form or with human attributes but in terms of the unlimited space, The "Great Sky" or "Il-Tengiri" was intense and Universal . . . But to their great Il-Tengiri, the Mongols offered no formal or regular prayers, built no temples and made no sacrifices. From one end of the country to the other you would find no place to worship--no sacred house, no consecrated tent, no hallowed image of gold, bronze, or stones. For Il-Tengiri, unlike the God of the Jews, Christians, or Mussulmans, was essentially a God for the individual and not for the social organization. No congregational forms of worship were known or desired. Religion was the business of the individual; he had to settle his affairs with his God in the way he thought best . . . For the Mongols of the old days faith began and ended with Il-Tengiri . . . If he becomes a Mussulman he will continue worshipping the same God as Tengiri Ta'ala, i.e., High Tengiri."[4]

Like the other northeastern Asian people, the Mongols were also believers of Shamanism, i.e., a belief that gods, demons, and ancestral spirits work for the good or ill of mankind through the sole medium of its priests, the Shamans. Thus, in spite of his aquaintance with the men of culture, Chengiz Khan and his followers remained firm Shamanists.[5] However, Chengiz Khan introduced a definite religious idea into the political conception of his own sovereignty and that of his clan. And so Vladimirtsov[6] tells us that when the great assembly of Mongol Ulus was held in 1206, the ceremony was performed by a sorceror and Shaman named Kokchu. This Kokchu was the son of Shaman Munlik, whom the Mongols viewed with superstitious reverance. It was this Shaman who announced that Chengiz Khan was the envoy of the everlasting Blue Sky on the earth and all his clan.[7]

Shaman had a great respect among not only the Mongols but of their Khans. For example, Chengiz Khan in respect gave the great Shaman a white horse to ride, a white robe to wear and was to be in the

lead of every company. His duty to the Khan was to find out which year and which moon would be auspicious.[8]

Another instance which sheds some light on the Mongol religious belief is Marco Polo's description of Qublai Khan's birthday celebrations. He describes that when all the nobles were seated, a Shaman got up and said in a loud voice, "Bow yourselves and adore!" At this, immediately all bent and bowed their foreheads to the ground. The Shaman said again, "God save and keep our Lord the Emperor, with length of years and with mirth and happiness." All answered, "So may it be."[9]

The Mongols' belief in the Blue Sky can also be found through Chengiz Khan's correspondence with neighboring rulers. He used to ask them for submission and when they refused, a message was sent to them saying, "You have chosen war. The Blue Sky alone knows how the issue between us will be resolved."[10]

Marco Polo gives us some further information about the religion of the Mongols. According to him, the Mongols not only believed in the Most High God of Heaven, but also to a certain other god whom they called Natigay. Natigay is their God of the Earth who watches over their children, cattle, and crops. They worshipped their Most High God daily.[11] The Mongols, during the rule of Chengiz Khan which had been described by Sun, showed a great difference during Qublai's reign as their religious beliefs seemed greatly influenced by Buddhist priests in his court. Marco Polo described them:

> "They keep in their houses, the figures of their God Natigay. They show him great worship and honor. These figures are made of felt and cloth and they have similar images of his wife and children. The wife they put on the left hand and the children in front. And when they eat, they take the fat of the meat and grease the God's mouth with it as well as the mouths of his wife and children. Then they take the broth and sprinkle it before the door of the house and when that is done they deem that their God and his family have had their share of the dinner."[12]

Such was the religious affairs of the Mongols which was no doubt strongly influenced by Shamanism. When they moved outside their homeland to conquer the world, these simple people came in contact with the sophisticated centers of civilization of the Middle East and Central Asia. They became the cause of destruction of some of these centers. On the other hand, they built numerous new centers in these

devastated lands. Though themselves pagans, their courts were filled with Muslim dignitaries like historians, administrators, and clergymen.

After settling in these foreign lands the Mongols were soon absorbed into the local populations especially through intermarriages. They were Turcicized or Persianized, as the case may be, and were converted to Islam. In places where they were outnumbered by the local populations, within a few generations they were completely absorbed and no Mongol characteristics could be observed. However, where they outnumbered the local population, they were able to maintain their predominant Mongoloid features. Hazaras are the only Mongolian people left behind in these conquered lands which have not been absorbed by any other ethnic group.

Now the second question arises, when and from whom did these western Mongols including the Hazaras adopt their new religion--Islam? There are conflicting points of view which do not, however, solve the problem. Bacon[13] believed that the Hazaras accepted Islam at some period after their entry into Afghanistan, i.e, during the 13th century. She further stated that without fixing a specific period, the ancestors of the Hazaras exchanged Shamanism for the Shia Muslim faith of the Persians.[14] The Hazaras conversion to Islam has been attributed to Persians, especially during the Safavid's reign. The theory that Hazaras accepted their new religion from the Persians during Safavid's reign became so popular that almost every western author has mentioned it. For example, Vanbery[15] suggested that the Hazaras were converted by Shah Abbas. Smith, et al.,[16] believed that the Hazaras became Shia rather than Sunni, because their conversion to Islam by Persian conquerors occurred relatively late at a time when Shiism had replaced Sunniism as the dominant branch of the faith in Iran. Similar is the view of the author of the **Encyclopedia of Islam**, who believed that when, in the year 1510, Ismail Safavi, the founder of the Safavid dynasty, invaded Khurasan, Herat passed into his possession. As a staunch supporter of the Shia faith, he enforced the Shia doctrine there by severe prosecution.[17] Schurmann[18] is also of the opinion that the Hazaras accepted Islam from the Persians at a time when a large segment of the Hazarajat was briefly unified and in alliance with Safavid Persia, perhaps in the time of Shah Abbas I. He further speculated[19] that Shi-ization of the Hazaras, as well as of the Pashtun Turis and other minor Shia tribal groups, may have taken place during the Safavid dynasty, during or after the 16th century when Qandahar region was annexed into the Persian empire. Much of

Schurmann's speculation is based on a Hazara Dai Kundi tradition which says that Shah Abbas Safavi bestowed upon a Hazara Mir, Daulat Beg, the rule of the Hazarajat from Besud to the Ghorat for eight generations.[20] He also suggested that the only possible way for Shiism to saturate Hazarajat is through the west, i.e., Persia, the only important Shia country in the Muslim world.[21] Bacon, however, disagreed with Schurmann by stating that it was Nadir Shah who bestowed the rule upon a Hazara chief and not Shah Abbas. Bacon further noted that instead of eight generations it was six generations.[22]

The theory of Hazaras conversion to Islam by Shah Abbas Safavi has been criticized by Soviet author Timurkhanov. He believed, in contrast to Schurmann's theory, that Shah Abbas never conquered the Hazarajat and so he could not have appointed Daulat Beg as ruler over the Hazara tribes. On the other hand, Daulat Beg or his descendants never ruled all of Hazarajat. They could not have had full control over the entire territory of Dai Kundi.[23] It is true that Shah Abbas came face to face with the Hazaras living in the region that was known to the Persians as Hazarajat or Sadajat. The most valuable reference on the Shah Abbas reign, Tarikh-i Alam Ara-i Abbasi, does mention such contact on several occasions. However, the author, Turkman, does not mention any occasion when the Shah tried to appoint any leader over the Hazarajat or to convert them to Shiism.[24]

It has also been suggested that when the ancestors of the Hazaras came to their present habitat, they accepted the religion of the local population, i.e., the Tajiks. This theory was first suggested by MacGregor,[25] who in the mid-19th century visited the Hazarajat. Recently a Soviet author, Aristov,[26] supported such a possibility. One can suspect the reason for such belief on the basis of the presence of a sub-tribe of Tajik among the Dai Kundi Hazaras. As they are Shia, their presence among the Hazaras led these authors to suggest that Hazaras accepted Shiism from the original settlers of the land, the Tajiks. Timurkhanov, once again, rejected this theory by suggesting that the Tajiks were not Shias at that time and that the Dai Kundi sub-tribe of Tajik belonged to the indigenous inhabitants who were conquered by Mongols. By submitting and intermixing with the Mongols, the Tajiks accepted Shiism from them.[27] Timurkhanov's theory that the original inhabitants of Hazarajat were Sunnis and not Shias could be confirmed from the writings of Babar who mentioned the religion of the people of Ghazni as of "pure form and good Muslim," i.e., of Hanafi sect.[28]

The other important part of the second question about Hazara religion is, when did they accept Islam? Unfortunately, none of the Muslim conquerors like Babar or Timur have mentioned their religion. None of the medieval Persian authors like Turkman, Samarkandi, or Hafiz-i Abru have mentioned the religious belief of the Hazaras, though they have repeatedly talked about them. If we consider the theory presented by the modern researchers that the Hazaras accepted their religion during the Safavid dynasty, i.e., in the 17th century, then it means that the Hazaras were still pagans until that time. Schurmann suggested that the ancestors of the Hazaras were pagan during Timurid times.[29] He based his theory on the fact that not only were their names pagan, but indirect references in the written sources indicate that they were pagans.[30] Thus, Schurmann believes that the name Dais likewise is pagan rather than Muslim, and this shows that Islam must have spread among the Hazaras sometime after the Timurid period.[31] Timurkhanov once again rejected this hypothesis and, based on Zafarnama, the book to which Schurmann refers, he concluded that the Hazaras were Shias during Timurid times.[32] Again, it is Timurkhanov who rejected the hypothesis of Schurmann that Shiism was introduced among Hazaras by Shah Abbas. Based on Safavid sources, he came to the conclusion that the Hazaras were already Shias during the reign of Shah Abbas.[33]

The theories presented about the Hazaras' acceptance of Islam from the indigenous Tajiks and through Shah Abbas does not lead us to any definite conclusions. This suggests another avenue, i.e., the relation of the Hazaras conversion to the overall conversion of Mongols in Ilkhanid Persia. As most of the Hazarajat was part of the Ilkhanid's northeastern province of Khurasan, the theory of their conversion to Islam along with other Mongols seems most probable. A brief discussion of western Mongol conversion will suit our discussion of the timing of Hazaras' acceptance of Islam.

When Chengiz Khan invaded this territory south of Oxus, he left behind his governors and soldiers, who were pagans. Shortly, his grandson, Hulaku, invaded and established a Mongol dynasty and his immediate successors were all pagans. They were accompanied by their priests, the Lamas, during their expeditions, and down to the time of Uljaitu these priests were present in the Ilkhanid courts.[34]

When the Mongols established themselves in their new home, Persia, the dominant religion was Sunni Islam.[35] Shiism existed in Persia as a religious sect for a long time enjoying a more or less

uneasy relationship with the dominant Sunniism.[36] However, Mongols showed their inclination to the oppressed religious sect--the Shias.[37] The Mongol invasion of Persia, which began in 1220 together with the subsequent fall of the Baghdad Calaphate, brought the entire Muslim world and especially Persia face to face with unexpected and formidable problems. For the first time in the history of Islam, a great part of the Muslim world found itself under the rule of a non-Muslim power. Their destruction of the Sunni Calaphate in Baghdad meant that for the first time Sunniism was deprived of every resemblance of political authority, and this could only be an advantage for Shiism. The presence of a Shia theologian and one of the greatest of the time, Nasir al-Din Tusi, among the Hulaku's advisors was, to say the least, significant.[38]

Several of the Ilkhans were heathen at least until 1295. Ghazan Khan became a Muslim and threw his influence on the side of Islam.[39] The accession of Ghazan, the great-grandson of Hulaku, marks the definite triumph of Islam over Mongol heathenism. At the age of ten, his father, Arghun Khan, made him governor of Khurasan (under the tutelage of Amir Naoruz, the son of Arghun Agha), and for thirty-nine years he governed various Persian provinces for Chengiz Khan and his successors. Amir Naoruz had embraced Islam, and it was through him that Ghazan Khan was converted to the faith. On June 19, 1295, he and ten thousand Mongols made their profession of faith in the presence of Shaikh Sa'd-ud-Din Ibrahim.[40] It is true that the Ilkhan Teguder (1284) had previously been converted to Islam and had taken the name of Ahmad, but this was purely a personal matter and had no sequel. Ghazan Khan, on the other hand, made the whole of his court and large numbers of the Mongols in Persia become Muslim.[41]

To satisfy his subjects who were Sunnis, Ghazan Khan gave the reason that twice he saw in his dreams the Prophet along with Ali and his two sons. He told his subjects that the Prophet presented his grandchildren and asked him to treat them as his brothers and ordered him to embrace them.[42] However, D'Ohsson[43] proposed that it was not true and that Ghazan Khan invented the story to justify his conversion to his newly adopted religion. He showed great favor towards the Shias and enriched the shrines of Karbala and Mashhad.[44] He constructed a canal to convey water from the Euphrates to the tomb of Hussain, and to irrigate the dry and desert plains of Karbala. Orders were given to distribute annually a certain quantity of corn to the poor Sayeds who lived about the tomb. He also wished that in all

large towns, such as Tabriz, Isfahan, Shiraz, Baghdad, houses should be built for the accommodation of the descendants of Ali, under the name of Dar-us-Sayedat.[45] Ghazan was also well grounded in Islam and showed a marked predilection for the Shiite form of that religion.[46] He ordered the destruction of all the temples, and prohibited the worship of idols and took decisive measures for the conversion of his Mongols living in the empire.[47]

On Ghazan's death, his brother, Uljaitu, succeeded him in 1304 and adopted the style of Sultan Uljaitu. It seems that unlike his brother, Ghazan, Uljaitu was not a firm Shia. At first he was a Hanafi; later he inclined to Shafai doctrine and finally became a Shia.[48] His conversion to Shiism has been described by Howorth:

> "Uljaitu, on his return from Arran, stopped at Gulistan and stayed in a summer home which was built by his predecessor. He witnessed a terrible storm during which several people were killed by lightening. Frightened at this, he set out hastily for Sultania. The Lamaist priest declared that misfortune had overtaken him because he had become Mussluman (Muslim) and entreated him to abjure it. Uljaitu spent three months in hesitation, saying to those who urged him to recant his new opinions, 'How can I abandon the Muhammadan faith, which I have professed with so much zeal?' The Amir Taremtaz replied, that Ghazan, the ablest man of his time, had embraced the religion of the Shias, and that the Sultan should do well to imitate him. 'How, wretched creature,' said the prince, 'do you wish me to be a Rafizi (heretic)?' Taremtaz who was a ready person, made a judicious reply and contrived to exalt the Shias at the expense of the Sunnis. 'See,' he concluded finally, 'in what they differ.' It is as if the Shias were to maintain that the succession belonged to the descendants of Chengiz Khan, while the Sunnis pretended that it also belonged to his generals, the Karajus (i.e. his subjects)."[49]

This neat and judicious speech made an impression on the Sultan. Another source mentioned his conversion mainly due to his seeing a vision on the occasion of a visit to the tomb of Ali at Najaf.[50]

Whether it was the judicious answer of Taremtaz or his vision at Najaf, Uljaitu's conversion to Shiism was mainly due to the influence of the great Shia theologian Allama Al-Hilli. Ibn Batuta has described the presence and the influence of Al-Hilli on Uljaitu:

"Uljaitu had with him a juris-consult of the sect of the Rafidhites (i.e., Shia), named Jamal-ud-Din, son of Motahhar. It was he who persuaded Uljaitu to attach himself to the Shias, and therupon the Ilkhan sent messengers to various towns to press the inhabitants to follow his examples."[51]

During his reign, Uljaitu brought a change in the formula of the Khutbah, or Friday prayer, in which the names of the first three Khalifas were suppressed, and those of Ali, his two sons, Hassan and Hussain, and that of Mohammad, the Mahdi, alone retained. In 1310, he visited the tomb of Ali. He inscribed on the coinage, the words, "Ali, Wuli Allah"--"Ali, the friend of God." He also named one of his daughters Fatima. Pleased with his favors to the Shias, his co-religionist called him Khoda-Bandah (Servant of God), while the Sunnis played on the word and called him Khar-Bandah (Servant of the ass).[52]

After the death of Uljaitu, Abu Said succeeded on the Ilkhanid throne. Like his predecessors, Ghazan and Uljaitu, Abu Said continued a policy which favored the spread of Shiism. It was during the Ilkhanid period that the Twelver Shia theology became established in Persia. The two leading representatives of Shia thinking at this time were Nasir-al-Din Tusi (1274) and his disciple, Allama al-Hilli (1326).[53] During the 45 years after Abu Said's death and Timur's birth (1335-1380) the Ilkhanid Persia was, however, left to its own devices and was divided between four or five petty dynasties.[54] Among these, Sarbadarids of Sabzwar and the Kurt of Herat will be of some interest regarding the Hazaras acceptance of Shiism, with special mention to Sabzwar which had long been a center of Shiism.[55]

The Sarbadarids dynasty held Sabzwar and the neighboring districts for nearly half a centruy (1337-1381). They were enthusiastic adherents of the Shia doctrine.[56] Its founder, Abdal Razzak, a native of Bashtin in Khurasan and at one time (1337) in the service of Ilkhan Abu Said, headed a rebellion of his countrymen against the opposition of the local governor. The rebel took the name of "Sar-ba-dar" or "Head to the Gibbet" in token of the "neck or nothingness" of their cause. Nevertheless, they obtained possession of Sabzwar and the neighboring districts and held it for nearly half a century, during which period twelve successive chiefs assumed the command, nine of whom suffered violent deaths.[57]

Khoja Ali Muayid, one of the rulers of the Sarbadarids in 1371,

gave an impetus to the spread of Shia doctrines and caused the twelve Imams to appear on the coins.[58] The rulers of Sabzwar were helped by the followers of Shaikh Khalifa, a Mazindarani, who founded a school of mysticism, called Shaikhiyya. After the death of its founder in 1335, during Ilkhan Abu Said's reign, Hassan Juri became the leader and gave the movement a more Shiite character and at the same time it became more militaristic. Hassan Juri found a large number of new supporters in Nishapur, Tus, etc., and joined forces with the Sarbadarids and helped to create the curious "Shia Republic of Sabzwar."[59] Ibn Battuta stated that all of the Sarbadarids were made of a profession of Shiism and aspired to root out the followers of the Sunna in Khurasan and convert them wholly to the Rafidi cause. Hassan Juri was mentioned to be one of their leaders.[60]

During the Ilkhanid rule of Persia, Herat was under the vassalage of Kurt princes and they were loyal to the Ilkhans. Shiism spread in and around Herat during this period. However, as the power of the Ilkhans in Persia declined and finally fell apart, the rulers of Herat, being Tajiks and Sunnis, took steps to stop the spread of Shiism. Howorth mentioned that seeing a rapid spread of Shiism through the Sarbadarids, the Hanafi Ulemas pressed the Kurt ruler of Herat, Ghiat-ud-Din Pir Ali, to handle the situation. He made several attempts to crush the Sarbadarids who were ruled by Khoja Ali Muayid. When he could not succeed in crushing them, however, in 1371, he did plunder the district of Nishapur which was governed by Muayid's deputy.[61]

It seems that Shiism spread in the Badghis region even before the time of Ilkhans. As reported by Ibn Hawqal,[62] one of the districts of Badghis, the Kovi Ummabad, was inhabited by Shias. Even in the southeast of Herat, in the Ghazni region, Shiism spread during the Ilkhanid period. According to Dianous,[63] Ghazni and its surrounding districts were under the rule of Amir Hussain, son of Amir Chopan. Amir Hussain defended the region against a certain Khan of Transoxiana and defeated him in 1326. The rulers of these regions seem to have accepted Islam of Shiite sect during this period, i.e., the 13th and 14th centuries. Not only are their names Islamic but were also typically Shiite.

Thus the available sources indicate that Shia Islam spread throughout the Ilkhanid empire during Ghazan Khan and his successors. These Ilkhans were enthusiastic Shias and wished to spread Shia doctrines all over the empire. They sent their messengers, the Sayeds, the

children of Ali, to far places. These Sayeds were honored and treated them with kindness. Special houses were built for them to live and generous allowances were bestowed upon them. Ilkhans paid more attention to the province of Khurasan especially because of the tomb of Imam Raza, the eighth Imam of the Shias at Mashhad. They enriched the shrine and the Sayeds living in the shrine were treated kindly. In a short time, Mashhad became the center of Shiism and Shia missionaries, the Sayeds, were sent to different regions of Khurasan and other Ilkhanid provinces. As stated previously, most of the present-day Hazarajat was part of the Ilkhanid province of Khurasan. One can suspect that the Mongols stationed in this region accepted Shia Islam along with their other Mongol brothers. The presence of a large number of Sayeds among the Hazaras also suggests that they are descendants of those Arab missionaries sent to this region by the Ilkhans.

Schurmann's suggestion that the Hazaras accepted their new religion during Shah Abbas time could not be attested through the available sources. However, his suggestion that Islam was accepted by the ruling class (the Mongols) and that it was forced onto the mass of the population (the Tajiks, etc.) seems reasonable.[64] As attested by the early 19th century writers, only the ruling class were aware of their new religion. As Harlan explained that only the chiefs and his close associates were aware of Islam and as far as the masses of Hazara were concerned, their form of Muslim worship was obsolete.[65]

Thus historical evidence enables us to draw tentatively, the following conclusions. First, the Hazaras were converted to the Shia faith of Islam during the overall conversion of the Mongols in Persia during the 14th and 15th centuries. Second, they did not accept the religion of the Tajiks indiginous to the region, but instead gave the Tajiks their religion, the Shia faith. Third, the Safavids had nothing to do with the conversion of the Hazaras to the Shia faith and the Ilkhans, like Ghazan, Uljaitu and Abu Said, were mainly responsible for such an act of conversion.

It seems that whatever form of Shiism the Hazaras accepted was of very obsolete nature. All they did was to replace their Al-Tengiri, i.e., the Blue Sky, with Allah of the Muslims. They did not have any place of worship and so they never built any mosques. They did not have any special rituals to perform their prayers, and so they did not show much enthusiasm in learning the new rituals. They found the Sayeds a proper substitute for the Shamans. As they did before with their

Shamans, they venerated and adored the Sayeds. Like their Shamans, they also attributed miraculous powers to them.[66]

While their belief in God and His Prophet was as strong as that of any other Muslims, they found Ali their first Imam, the center of all their religious activities. As their ancestors' conversion to Islam was mainly due to the stress on the Prophet and his family, and Ghazan and his successor concentrated on Ali and his children, the Hazaras inherited such devotion. If we believe in Harlan's observations,[67] the common Hazara's love for Ali was beyond imagination, which could not be accepted by any Muslim sect. This fanatic admiration of Ali lead their Afghan neighbors to call them Ali-Ilahi, i.e., they believe in Ali as Allah. Thus, for a common Hazara even in the early part of the 19th century, Islam meant a love for the Prophet and his family. They also observed the fasting of Ramazan, and celebrated the death of Hussain, during the month of Muharram. However, their celebration of Muharram was very simple and not like the rest of the Shia world who annually commemorate it by extravagant lamentations.[68]

Besides these simple religious activities, they scarcely had any knowledge about their religion. Their villages had no mosque, no Mulla, no Mo'azin, and no public worship. Like their social life, they kept their religious life as simple as they could. Along with their new faith they also carried some of their Shamanism beliefs and superstitions. Thus, for a long time the Hazaras religion, though Shiite in its form remained enriched with Shamanism and superstitions.

Though the Hazaras were separated from the Shiite centers like Mashhad, Najaf, Karbala, and Qum, especially when their surrounding lands fell into the hands of the Sunni rulers, it seems that there still existed some ways through which they maintained their contact. One was the continued arrival of the Sayeds; the other was the pilgrimage of the Hazaras to these holy places. To a lesser extent, individual Hazara also travelled to Mashhad to receive religious education.[69] However, not all the Hazaras benefited from such intercourse. The Hazaras living in the periphery of Hazarajat, especially the Jaghuri, Besud, Dai Kundi, Yak Aolang and Ghazni, were among those tribes who were more knowledgeable than the Hazaras living in the interior of Hazarajat like the Dai Zangi and the Uruzgani. Even among the Hazaras of the periphery, the masses could not enjoy fully the benefits of such contact. One reason was they could not afford to visit the shrines in Iran and Iraq and thus this privilege was only for the rich, i.e., the ruling class. Second, the Sayeds and the Mullas were closely

attached to the ruling class and in most cases became part of the upper class of the Hazara society.[70]

According to Harlan, every Hazara chief had his own Peer or holy father, a Sayed, who when alive was given great respect, money, and land, and when he died he was buried in a tomb called Ziaratgah. Some tribes who did not have a permanent Sayed in their village would capture the missionary Sayed and in his excess of piety, and in order to have a permanent blessing, killed the Sayed and buried him in the Ziaratgah. To this holy edifice the Hazaras daily resorted to perform his devotions and solicit the rewards of piety.[71]

The picture of Hazara religion presented above changed drastically when they lost their War of Independence in the 1890's. Tens of thousands of Hazaras fled their homes and took refuge in Quetta and in Mashhad. After several years of residence in these places, some of them returned to their homes. Their residence in these places brought a significant change in their religious values and, as a result, the Hazaras of today are more aware of their religious duties. Though they lost their war to the Afghans, they emerged as a single solid Shia block, and achieved a greater sense of unity. Though traditionally both Hazara rulers and the commoners were strongly united because both were religious heretics in the eyes of the Afghans,[72] their suffering in the war created a greater sense of unity. Abdur Rahman's attempts to convert the Hazaras into Sunni not only failed but resulted in more awareness about their religion. Religious leaders, the Sayeds and Mulla emerged with more enthusiasm. More and more Sayeds and Mulla were sent to Iran and Iraq for religious education who, on their return, preached and taught their followers the exact faith of Islam. The establishment of Wakil-e Imam (representative of Imam) in Kabul and Yak Aolang is another milestone in bringing the proper form of Shia faith among the Hazaras.

Surrounded by the Sunni Afghans and Tajiks, one wonders if conversion of the Hazaras to the Sunni sect had ever happened. Most people will initially deny that conversion is possible.[73] However, they will explain that if a Hazara accepts the Sunni faith, he doesn't remain a Hazara, but rather becomes a Tajik.[74] Thus, he will not be allowed to live with his family or in his village. He will live among the Sunnis and will be absorbed into the Sunni population.[75] Religious conversion in recent times on both sides has been reported.[76] The religious feelings among the Hazaras are so strong that they sometimes overcome ethnic feelings. Thus, some of the Hazaras of Shaikh Ali in Shibar region,

though in every respect Hazaras, are not considered by the rest of the Hazaras as one of them. The simple reason is that they have accepted Ismailism instead of the Twelver form of Shiism. On the other hand, the Qizilbash and the Hazaradized Afghans living among the Hazaras are considered part of them, though they differ in almost every respect except religion.[77]

If any Hazara becomes Ismaili or Sunni, he is excluded from his Hazara nation and becomes either Tajik or Afghan, as both these ethnic groups belong to a different religious sect. Thus, one will find a close correlation between ethnicity and sect affiliation.

Hazaras share with the Afghans the five principles of Islam, i.e., profession of faith, observance of five daily prayers, the giving of alms to the poor, fasting in the holy month of Ramazan, and, if possible, making the pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca once in one's lifetime.

While they believe in these principles, there exists a peculiar difference in the way they perform their duties. For example, while both Afghans and Hazaras believe in confession, that there is only one God and that Mohammad is His Prophet, the Hazaras add to this that Ali is His Wali,, i.e., His representative.

Hazaras also share with Afghans the observance of five daily prayers with a difference in timing. Unlike the Afghans who say their prayers at five different hours of the day, the Hazaras say their prayers at three different hours. They combine the hours of Zuhur (noon) and Asar (afternoon), Maghreb (evening) and Isha (night), thus performing the five prayers in the morning, afternoon and evening hours. The combined prayers of Zuhur-Asar and Maghreb-Isha are called Zuhurain, and Maghrebain, respectively. Both the sects respect the direction towards Mecca, the Bait- Allah or the Qibla. During the prayers, the Hazaras leave their hands open and on their sides; the Afghans hold their hands below their chest. Hazaras, during Sajda, place their forehead on a praying stone, while Afghans place it on the ground. The Hazara praying stone is usually made of baked clay of the holy city of Karbala, a city in Iraq. Both Hazaras and Afghans use the rosaries (Tasbeeh); however, Hazaras prefer to use the rosaries made from Karbala clay. Another difference between the two sects is the importance placed on the personal qualities of the Imam or the leader of the prayer. As the spiritual efficacy of the group prayers is placed on the shoulders of the Imam, he must have qualifications better than the people of the congregation. The Hazaras' turst in their Imam or Mulla

can be followed by their proverb that "Ala bala ba gardan-e Mulla," which means that "whatever mistakes they might make, the Mulla will be responsible for their fault." Unlike the Afghan community where every man can act as the leader of the prayers, the Hazara prayer leader must have the following qualities. He should be pious; he should not be a bastard; he should be free of any physical defects, have a clear voice to recite the prayer, and a true believer of the faith. Because of these restrictions and the fact that every Mulla who will lead the prayer is selected by Mujtahid in Najaf, Iraq, or in Qum, Iran, very few mosques are found in Hazarajat. In the absence of the qualified Imams and mosques, the Hazaras say their prayers in the privacy of their homes. However, when they can afford to have their Mullas and mosques, as in Kabul, Quetta, Mashhad, and Parachinar, they pray in groups like Afghans.

While there is a big difference between the two sects in giving alms to the poor, (Zakat and Khums), they also differ on a smaller scale in observing the month of fasting. The Hazaras delay the breaking of their fast in the evening longer than the Afghans and in the morning start their fast earlier than the Afghans. The night of Qadar, which falls during the month of Ramazan, is considered the most holy night by both sects, however, they differ on its occurrence. Afghans believe that it occurs on the 27th of Ramazan; the Hazaras consider one of the nights between the 19th, 21st, and 23rd of Ramazan. Ramazan is also a special month for the Hazaras, as on the 19th of the month their first Imam Ali was wounded and then died on the 21st. For these three days, i.e., the 19th, 20th, and 21st, the Hazaras mourn the memory of the death of Ali. Another ritual during the month of Ramazan is the special prayer, which the Afghans call Tarawaih--a prayer performed after Isha in which part of the Quran is recited. This recitation continues until the 27th of Ramazan when the whole Quran recitation is completed. The Hazaras believe that Tarawaih has nothing to do with Ramazan and that it was invented by Omar, the second Caliph of the Sunnis.

The pilgrimage to Mecca in the month of Dul-Haj is important to both Afghans and Hazaras. The subsequent visit to Madina has a special significance to the Hazaras. Besides the tomb of their Prophet, Mohammad, graves of Fatima, the Prophet's daughter, the second, fourth, fifth and sixth Imams are buried in Madina. These graves are collectively known as "Janat al-Baqia." The graves are not visible at present as they were destroyed by the Sunni Wahabi rulers of Saudi

Arabia at the time when they captured Madina in 1804.

Besides these five principles or foundations of Islam, Hazaras also differ from Afghans on Jehad or holy war. The purpose of the holy war is to defend the faith of Islam against its enemies. While it is fought against the non-believer, the Kafirs, the Afghans used the institution several times against their own Afghan brothers, Durranis against Durranis,[78] and Durranis against Ghilzais,[79] against British and of course against Hazaras during Abdur Rahman's reign. The Hazaras' belief in Jehad differs from that of the Afghans in that there could be no holy war in the absence of the Imam.

Besides the differences in the foundations of Islam, Hazaras also differ from that of the Afghans in the Articles of Faith or "Usul al-Din." A brief discussion will help us in understanding these differences.

God

Both the sects believe in oneness of God. However, when it comes to God's dealing with man, they express differences. For example, Sunnis' point of view is that, "God leadeth astray whom He wills and guideth aright whom He wills, and it is not incumbent upon God Most High to do that which may be best for the creature."[80] The Shias differ and this difference has been expressed by their great spiritual leader, Majlisi. According to him, "God will do that which is best in behalf of His servants."[81] This point has further been clarified by another Shia scholar, Badshah Hussain, who stated that "God would help to bring His creatures nearer to His devotion and obedience and facilitate their moral correction, [which is] morally incumbent on him."[82]

The Hazaras also deny God's predestination, Taqdir, blind fatalism, which according to Sunni belief "God is the creator of all actions of His creatures, whether of unbelief of belief, of obedience or rebellion; all of them are by the will of God and His sentence and His conclusion and His decreasing."[83] Instead, the Shias believe in freedom of will and man's power over his own actions. Thus, they believe that "Allah possesses foreknowledge of human actions, but does not compel mankind to act in any particular manner." In other words, Allah has never ceased to be aware of the potentialities of human beings.[84]

Another important point at which the two sects disagree is the vision of God. While the Sunnis believe that God will be seen in the next world with physical eyes in the same way as the full moon is seen,[85] the Shias reject such a notion. They believe that neither in this

world nor in the other world will God ever be seen.[86]

Prophets

Both the Afghans and Hazaras believe in prophets from Adam to Mohammad. They both believe that Mohammad is the last and the excellent (Afzal) among the prophets. However, both sects differ when it comes to the status of the Prophet. The Afghans believe that He is the excellent among human beings and nobody is equal to Him. The Hazaras differ in that they believe that Imam is equal to the Prophet. In this regard, they quote Allama Al-Hilli who presented the Shia view as:

> "That I am equal to the Prophet. And since the Prophet is the best (Afzal), hence his equal is also the best, otherwise he would not be equal to him and he is equal because of the word of the Most High, in the verse of 'Cursing one another,' i.e., Mubahila (Quran, 3:45), and 'Ourselves and yourselves.' And the intention (Murad) in 'ourselves' is Ali ibn Abi Talib.' And without doubt the intention is not that his 'self' (Nafs) is Ali's 'Self' because union (Ittihad) is false. Hence his intention is, 'Like Him' and 'equal to Him.' And since he is equal to him, he is the best."[87]

Quran

Both the sects believe that Quran is Kalam-e Ilahi, i.e., words of God which were revealed to Mohammad through the angel Gabrail. However, the Hazaras believe that the present form of Quran is not complete and Osman, the third Caliph of the Sunnis, did not include some of the verses and one whole chapter. According to a Shia scholar, Mohsin Fani, these verses have special reference to the rights of Ali and the other Imams to the succession of the Prophet. The chapter believed to be missing is known among the Shias as "Surat-al-Noorain," i.e., the Sura of the lights, meaning Mohammad and Ali.[88] It is also a common belief among the Hazaras that the Imam Mahdi knows what parts are missing and when he appears, he will establish the complete Quran. Beside this, they also believe that it is the Imam who knows both the hidden meaning (Batin) of Quran as well as the apparent meaning (Zahir). Thus to understand the full meaning of Quran, there is no way except to follow the Imam, the rightful successor of the Prophet.

Imammat

For the Shias, Imammat is one of the "Pillars of Religion," and it is as important as the Prophet and Quran. Thus the dominant theme of Shia Islam is clearly and indisputably the Imammat, an institution of a succession of charismatic figures who dispense true guidance in comprehending the esoteric sense of prophetic revelation.[89] The Sunnis though agree that a leader or Imam is essential for the Muslim community, however, they do not agree with the Shias on the institution of Imammat. While the Shias maintain that the Imams are immune to sin and that they are divinely appointed,[90] the Sunnis have a different point of view. According to them, he should not be protected by God from sin, nor that he should be the most excellent of the people of his time, and that he can be appointed or elected only by agreement of the Muslim community.[91]

Islam quickly split into two major groups not long after the death of Mohammad--the Shias and the Sunnis. Their main basis of difference was in identifying the rightful successor of the Prophet. Of the whole succession of Orthodox Caliphs, Abu Bakr, Omar, Osman and Ali, the Shia acknowledged only Ali. However, they do not acknowledge him as Caliph but as Imam, the leader of the Prayer. After about fourteen hundred years, the Imammat, vis a vis the Khilafat, remained the hottest issue among the two sects. The ritual differences between them are relatively unessential. It is the theory of Imammat maintained by Shias which really separates the two main sects of Islam. And due to this institution a perennial atmosphere of hatred was created which is as alive today as during the early days of Islam. For the Shia sending curse on the three Orthodox Caliphs was a matter of religious duty as they are considered to be usurpers. The Sunnis who could not tolerate to see their Caliphs be cursed, labeled the Shias as Kafirs (infidels). Thus Mohsin Fani put the Sunni position as "A Shia is no Musolman, and when he brings forth his faith it is not right according to the Saying of the Prophet."[92]

Bellew, who witnessed such a situation among the Hazaras and Afghans, reported a very interesting Afghan couplet. This couplet is known among the Afghans as "Chahar Yari Kalema" or "Creed of the Four Friends of the Prophet" and is directed towards the Hazaras. The couplet is:

Saram Khak-i Rah-i har Chahar Sarwar
Umar, Abubakr, Osman wa Haider
Abubakr Yar-i Ghar, Umar Mir-I Durra Dar
Osman Shah-Swar Ast,Ali Fath-i Lashkar Ast.
Har Ki Az in Chahar Yar-i Ra Khilafa Na Danad
Kamtarin-i Khirs, wa Khuk
Wa Yahudan-i Khaiber Ast.[93]

The simple translation of the couplet means that, "My head be in the dust of the path of these four Caliphs, Umar, Abubakr, Osman and Haidar (Ali). Abubakr is the friend of the cave, Umar, the prince who possesses the pearls. Osman is a royal Knight, and Ali is the victorious warrior. Thus, whosoever denies the Khilafat of any one of them, he is much worse than a bear, a pig and the Jews of Khaiber."

Mahdi

Both sects agree on the name and person of Mahdi but they differ in that Shias consider him as their twelfth Imam, who lives in concealment and guides his followers through the Mujtahids. They further believe that the "Hidden Imam" will appear as Mahdi at a moment chosen by God to take over the leadership of his adherents. Thus for a Shia, the primary duty after belief in God, His Prophet, is Vilayat, i.e., total loyalty and obedience to Hidden Imam. The Shia position on Imammat has been summarized by Algar in simple words as, "He who dies without recognizing the Imam dies an unbeliever."[94]

In order to maintain a connection to their Hidden Imam through Mujtahid, it is customary for the Hazaras to select a Mujtahid and to place himself under his Taqlid or authority, thus becoming his Muqalid or follower. These Mujtahids are considered by the Hazaras as the representatives of the Hidden Imam.

Sunna and Hadith

Sunna to both sects means the practices and the teachings of Prophet Mohammad and thus become accepted rules for every Muslim. The Sunnis later called these Sunna as the practices of the Prophet and His immediate successors, i.e., the Four Caliphs. The Shias show their disagreement as they do not consider them as the rightful successors. The collection of these practices are known as a tradition or Hadith.

The Sunnis recognize the collections based on the prophet and his companions; the Shias reject such collections and treat them as false. As most of the Sunni traditions were collected during Umaiyad dynasty, the traditions favorable to the House of the Prophet (Ahl-e Bait) were suppressed and those favorable to the companion were searched.

A great Sunni traditionalist, (one who collects traditions of the Prophet) Al-Zuhri, has explained about the process of collecting the traditions as, "These Umaiyad princes have compelled us to write Hadiths.[95]

By rejecting the Sunni traditions, the Shias depend upon the traditions based on the members of the House of Mohammad; the Imams. Following are the most important collections which the Shia recognize:

1. Usul al-Kafi by Mohammad ibn Y'qoob al-Kulaini, dated 329 A.H.
2. Maula Yahduruh al Faqih by Mohammad ibn Ali, ibn Babawaihi al Qummi dated 406 A.H.
3. Al-Tahdhib al-Ahkam by Mohammad ibn Hasan al-Tusi dated 406 A.H.
4. Al-Istibsar by Al-Tusi
5. Nahj al-Balaghah by Sayed al-Radi
6. Bihar al-Anwar by Mohammad Baqir al-Majlisi

The first four books are collectively known as the Al-Kutub al-Arba'a (the four books). It is interesting to note that the Sunni collections are separated by 200 years from the time of the Prophet, and the Shia collections by about 300 years. However, Shia collections are nearer to their Imams from whom they were collected.

Mut'a or Sigha

Both the sects have contrasting views regarding this controversial matter. Even among the Shias, it is not totally accepted. For example, the Akhbari school recognizes it as legal while the Usuli school has reservations about this practice. The Sunnis, however, consider it as an act of adultery (Zina).

According to Mut'a or, as the Hazaras call it, the Sigha, a man and woman may enter into a contract of marriage for any period they like, less than a day or as long as a hundred years. Such a contract marriage is automatically terminated by the efflux of the time fixed, or it may end by mutual agreement without divorce. It is called Mut'a or

pittance, because the woman so married receives from the man a small gift either in the form of a piece of cloth or a handful of flour or dates.

The Shias support their practice of Mut'a by giving evidence that the Prophet himself allowed the Muslims to practice Mut'a. One of these evidences is the tradition recorded by Ibn Mas'ud:

> "During Mohammad's stay in Madina, he sent expeditions in different directions. During these expeditions, the companions had to remain away from their homes for long periods. In countries like Arabia, where the climate is so hot, it was extremely difficult for people like Arabs, who possessed a fiery and passionate temperament, to control the sexual instinct for any length of time. Thus Abdallah bin Mas'ud says: 'We used to go on expeditions in the company of the Prophet, without taking our wives with us. So we represented [to him] whether we should emasculate ourselves. He prevented us from this [course] and then permitted us to resort to Mut'a. So one of us used to marry a woman for a time by giving her a piece of cloth.'"[96]

The Sunnis said that even though the Prophet gave his permission under exceptional circumstances, he was aware of the immorality of the Mut'a marriage. They also believe that Mut'a was not divinely sanctioned, but was conceded by the Prophet as a matter of expediency, and that it did not require to be abrogated by a special revelation in the Quran.[97]

The Sunnis believed that the practice of Mut'a was valid until the victory of Mecca in 19 A.H., after which it was withdrawn.[98] The Shias, however, still maintain that Mut'a is legal as it was never abrogated by a later tradition. Further, they assert that the sanction of Mut'a has been handed down to them through the incontrovertible reports of all twelve Imams. When children are born to such marriages they enjoy the full rights of children born through legal marriages.

The Sunnis, in order to label the Mut'a as Zina or adultery, refer to the tradition of Sabrah who heard the Prophet saying that:

> "O people! I had indeed allowed you to benefit by these women. But behold God had prohibited it until the day of resurrection. So if any one has such women, let him allow them to go their way, and do not take aught of anything you have given them."[99]

The insitituion of Mut'a was in practice until Omar became the second Caliph who suppressed it with a strong hand. His policy was carried on by Osman with the same rigour. The Shias challenged whether the right to enact or to abrogate a law belonged only to a Ma'sum, the Infallible Imam. They maintained that Omar did this not because of his love for the religion, but because of his intense hatred for the house of the Prophet, i.e., Ahl-e Bait.[100]

Like the Sunnis, the Ismaili also considered the Mut'a as illegal or adultery. As Fyzee[101] concluded on the basis of a tradition of the Prophet, a saying of Ali, and a story of Imam Ja'far, Mut'a is Zina (sinful intercourse).

It is interesting to note that though Ismaili claim that Mut'a is altogether unlawful, their 48th Imam, the Agha Khan, the Supreme Arbiter of Ismaili religious practices, married his second wife, Teresa Magliano, by Mut'a marriage. To this marriage, a boy was born who was given the name of Prince Aly Khan, the father of present Ismaili Imam, Prince Karim Agha Khan.[102] If Mut'a is adultery according to Ismaili law, then Aly Khan will become an illegitimate child, whose parents married through the institution of Mut'a.

Although the Hazaras recognize the institution of Mut'a, they seldom practice it in their home country. It is interesting to note that a certain Sayed in the Yak Aolang region could manage to have 300 wives through Mut'a marriages.[103] Some pilgrims who visit Iran also take advantage of this kind of marriage as the conditions (such as the agreeable women and Mullas) are more favorable for such marriages. An average Hazara, however, will not agree to offer his daughter for a Mut'a marriage and the custom is slowly dying.

In relation to Mut'a, it is necessary to discuss the term Kuru-Bistan, or "wife lending." Most of the western explorers of the 19th century who happened to visit some parts of the Hazarajat have mentioned this term. Ferrier[104] was the first one who reported it, but explained that he knew about this custom through the Hazaras' enemies, the Afghans. His statement created a great curiosity among the future western explorers, and so we find that almost every noted foreigner has mentioned the custom of Kuru-Bistan.[105]

According to the custom of Kuru-Bistan, the Hazara man offered his wife to his guest for a night or a week, or longer. Elphinstone gave the explanation for this custom and said that it was one of the Mongol customs the Hazaras continued until the present time. According to Mongol custom, the Laws of Yasa forbid adultery. The inhabitants of

Caiader applied and received an exemption on account of their old usage of lending their wives to their guests. He found that this custom prevailed in the northeastern part of Hazarajat, perhaps among the Shaikh Ali tribe.[106] On the other hand, Burnes and Wood reported that though it is not true for the whole Hazara nation, some of the Jaghuri tribes practice the custom and because of it, they are losing their Mongoloid features.[107] These authors have not found a single example of such custom; their statements were based on the reports of some unidentified people.

Broadfoot, due to his curiosity about Kuru-Bistan, searched the part of Hazarajat where the custom was said to be practiced, but could not find evidence of its continued existence. Thus, he came to the conclusion that, "In the part I visited, it is certainly a fabrication." When he could not find for himself, he asked the Hazara inhabitants and found that they denied it with indignation as an invention of the Afghans.[108]

Besides Broadfoot, Harlan also discussed the custom. Based on his observations, he explained the situation:

> "They have also been abused by the misrepresentations of their orthodox neighbors, whose sectarian prejudices are opposed to the concession of moral purity to a community of infidel schismatics!"[109]

The curiosity about Kuru-Bistan continues until the present time, and Thesiger is among those numerous authors who have searched to find the facts. After an extensive tour of Hazarajat, he came to the conclusion that it is certainly a fabrication.[110]

If one compares the custom of Kuru-Bistan with that of the institution of Mut'a, it is possible to state that what the Hazaras in the early 19th century were practicing was nothing but Mut'a, and that the Afghans, in ignorance of the institution, fabricated a story and named it Kuru-Bistan. The indignation of the Afghans could be easily estimated from the observation of Conolly, who noted the preaching of an Afghan Mulla as;

> "The Sheahs, God's curse be upon them! are utter dogs; but what can you expect from fellows who reject the law, that they may serve their beastly inclinations, and, in pretended accordance with the Huddees, marry wives for a month, a week, or a day? It would be well if God would clear the world of such men worse than Kauffirs."[111]

The institution of Mut'a, which to the Hazaras was known as part

of their religious belief, however, remained a strange and alien custom to the Afghans. In the absence of sufficient communication between the two sects, the Afghans watched every action of the Hazaras with great curiosity and suspicion. It is possible that some of the Afghans came to know the practice of Mut'a and when unable to understand it, started creating stories and related them to the western explorers.

It seems that besides Mut'a, the Mongol ancestors of the Hazaras might have practiced the custom of Kuru-Bistan as a Mongol tradition. As the influence of Sayeds grew stronger, they abandoned this practice. This custom, which the Hazaras have abandoned long ago, is still alive and being practiced by Khalkha Mongols living in Outer Mongolia. Vreeland found that while no custom of wife-lending was recognized, cases were known of husbands offering their wives or being asked for use of their wives for sexual purposes, but this was generally between friends and the act was held in general disfavor.[112]

In addition to the custom of Mut'a, the Afghans were also indignant about the elevated position of Hazara women. Unlike the Afghans who treat women as chattel, the Hazaras respect their women. According to Harlan,[113] they address their wives with the respectful and significant title of Aga and associate with them as equal companions, consult with them on all occasions. The women, on the other hand, were free from temptation. And in morality, the Hazara women were not more addicted to incontinency than the most secluded ladies of the best regulated harems among the Afghans.[114]

Taqiya or Dissimulation

Taqiya or dissimulation, i.e., the concealing of religious beliefs, is recognized both by Sunnis and Shias. However, the Sunnis believe that it was permissible during the early days of Islam but need not be practiced at the present time. On the other hand, for the Shias, it is not only permissible, but a religious obligation upon all the followers. To support their practice of Taqiya, they point to the Quranic verses. For example, one of these verses states:

> "Let not believers take infidels for their friends rather than believers; whoever shall do this hath nothing to hope from God--unless indeed, ye fear a fear from them." (Quran, 111:27)

To support their belief, they refer to the saying of their sixth Imam, Ja'far al-Sadiq, who said that:

"Religious disguise (al-Taqiya) is the religious practice of mine and my ancestors; whosoever has no Taqiya (i.e., does not hide his secret beliefs from his enemies), he has no faith."[115]

During the long supremacy of the Sunnis, the Shia theolgians had been driven to cover, for they took refuge through the doctrine of Taqiya. But when the political and military dominance of the Sunnis was destroyed, though by a foreign foe, then the Shias came to light and eagerly carried favor and used every opportunity to write books to justify their faith.[116]

The Hazaras practiced Taqiya when the situation required them to do so. However, in Hazarajat they do not practice it. It is interesting to note that even in today's maximum religious tolerance in most of the world, the religious discrimination and prejudice forces the Shias of Afghanistan to practice Taqiya. While the Hazaras, because of their peculiar phsiognomy, could not practice Taqiya to get the benefit of Afghan society, the Qizilbash community has successfully done so. In order to be appointed or promoted to a higher position in the Afghan government, one has to be either a Pashtun or at least a Sunni. The ambitious town dwelling Qizlbash have recognized the situation and have thus followed the institution of Taqiya. According to Dupree,[117] several extremely important Afghan administrators and statesmen have attained their positions by declaring themselves as Sunni Tajiks.

Muharram

Both the Afghans and the Hazaras show their respect for the month of Muharram as a month of sorrow due to the brutal killing of Prophet Mohammad's grandson, Hussain, and his 72 companions. The Afghans refer to the month as the "Hassan-Hussain Miyasht," but do not emphasize the importance of the occasion. However, for the Hazaras, this is a month which has no equivalent in the whole Islamic calendar. For them it is the month of extreme grief and sorrow. It is so important that all the social ceremonies and functions such as weddings, circumcisions, engagements or other matter of happiness are not held during this month.

They hold the Muharram commemoration in their village Takya-khanas. These Takya-khanas are decorated with standards, usually of black color, called Alam. These standards consist of an open hand, the crest signifying the Panjtan (five holy ones) and the standard. The

Mulla has to provide a special service during the first ten days of the month. Due to limited size and lack of funds, several Hazara villages join together to hold Majlis (public gatherings). Unlike the other Shia communities where these Majlis are held during the evening, Hazarajat's Hazaras hold them during the afternoon hours. They gather at lunchtime and, after listening to their Mullas, they disperse to their homes situated in widely scattered farms across the hills and mountains.

Usually the person responsible for holding such religious meeting is the Arbab or Khan of the village or of the tribe, respectively. Iwamura, who witnessed the Muharram celebration in Ashtarlai village in Dai Kundi region, described it:

> "One day [July 9, 1959] there was a pompous festival of the Shia party which was called Khairat-i Imama. At that time, a lot of people gathered at Haider Beg's summer residence. Measuring with my eyes, there were more than 500 men [no women came to the festival]. They lined up in the yard. First stood the Sayyid [the descendants of Prophet Mohammad]. Sayyid of Hazara tribes are funny, as there is no relationship between the Hazara tribes and the Arabs. However, there are some who call themselves Sayyids among the Hazaras. A Sayyid made a speech; all the other people cried and they went on into a religious ecstacy. Then stood Akhund. That Akhund stood and made a speech. After the speech, meals were served. All the meals were given by Mir Haider Beg. He killed three cows for this purpose, which was a tremendous amount of money in the poor society of Hazaras. In addition to these cows, various foods were served to almost 500 tenant farmers and others. He also paid 500 Afghanis each to the Sayyid and to Akhund."[118]

For the Hazaras, the celebration of Muharram has always been simple. For a short period, when Amir Abdur Rahman prohibited the Hazaras from celebrating the Muharram, they performed it underground and in great secrecy. Even today these celebrations are held with great calm and simplicity and under constant fear. However, the Hazaras living in Pakistan and Iran, where they have freedom of religious expression, celebrate the Muharram with a public parade on the tenth of Muharram. This is the day for them to show their loyalty to the Ahl-e Bait, the family of the Prophet. In Quetta and Parachinar in Pakistan, which are the main centers of Hazaras, the businesses are

closed and public traffic is halted along the parade routes. The mourners start their march early in the morning accompanied with colorful standards, and they end in the late afternoon. During this day-long march, the mourners resort to a great variety of spectacular and gruesome ways of shedding their blood and mutilating their bodies. It is a common scene to see the mourners falling on the ground because of excessive shedding of blood from their backs and heads. Such procession is also accompanied by a decorated live horse, Zul-Janah, which is caparisoned and saddled. This is symbolic of Hussain's horse, who is now shown as riderless. While marching, the mourners divide into small groups. Each group is accompanied by a Naoha-khwan, the lamentor, who recites Naoha, a eulogy on the death of Hussain. While the Naoha-khwan recites, the mourners beat their chests and also strike their backs with Zanjir, or iron flails, and draw their blood.

Muharram mourning by the Hazaras continues until the 20th of Safar, which is the 40th day of Hussain's death. On the 13th of Safar, the Hazaras perform a special rite which indicates the end of mourning. After the evening prayer, an earthen pot, usually an old water jug, is filled with water and thrown away from the top of the roof. In Quetta, a few coins are also put inside the earthen jug and thrown away in the street. On the morning of the 13th Safar, the streets of Hazara-inhabited sections of Quetta are filled with broken earthen debris. To this rite, another custom of unknown origin, the Atesh-Algho or the "fire leaping," is usually combined.[119]

Regarding these Muharram celebrations, there is no reference in the Quran or in the Hadith. However, mourning the death of Hussain has been recommended in all the Shia traditions, and all the Imams (from 4th to 12th) observed such mourning. However, the public mourning started when Ahmad Ibn Buwaih, or the Mu'izz-ad Dawla, the master of Baghdad, introduced the custom. It was he who, in 963, ordered to commemorate annually the tragic death of Hussain in the month of Muharram. In a matter of time, this simple commemoration was modified, and today it has become the most important event in the Shia calendar.

The Afghans, however, disagree and label such lamentations as non-Islamic, and from time to time opposed such practices by attacking and insulting the mourners. One such incident occurred in June 1832

during Amir Dost Mohammed's reign when some Achakzai Afghans attacked the Muharram celebrations in Kabul. Several people were killed and the matter was settled by dispatching the Quran among the two groups.[120]

Pilgrimage

Pilgrimage to Mecca and Madina in Saudi Arabia are the only pilgrimages a Hazara is supposed to perform; however, there are several others which are also important. Among these are the visit to Mashhad in Iran, Ma'suma-e Qum in Iran, Kazimain, Najaf, and Karbala in Iraq, and the tomb of Zainab (Prophet's granddaughter), in Damascus, Syria. A visit to these places is called the Ziarat, or visitation, which is different from a visit to Mecca, which is called Haj. While the Haj is obligatory upon every Muslim once in a lifetime, the Ziarat is only a meritorious action. Haj has to be performed during a specific time, the 10th of Dul Haj, while Ziarat could be done any time of the year. Because of this facilitation, and because of several Shia traditions which emphasize the importance of Ziarat, many Hazaras go to Ziarat annually. When a Hazara returns from a visit to Mashhad, Iran, he is titled a Zawar, and one who goes to Karbala, Iraq, is called Karbalai. These titles, like Haji, are used for the lifetime in Hazara society. Such titles as Zawar and Karbalai carry a great influence among the masses. Most of these Hazaras come from the rich and influential families.

The scene of departure of the pilgrims is worth noting. As one has to go to a foreign land, he is blessed by his family, friends and well wishers. On the day of his departure special meals are served among the relatives and the poor. Everybody in the village or town seeks the blessing of the pilgrim. They ask the pilgrim to pray for them when he touches the tomb in Mashhad, Karbala or Najaf. Everybody embraces him and wishes him a safe and happy journey. On his return, the pilgrim is embraced and his hands are kissed. His return becomes a big feast for the whole village or community. The family of the pilgrim will usually prepare a big meal for the guests, usually a sheep is killed. The next day, the pilgrim, who is now called a Zawar or Karbalai, will distribute the gifts which he brought from the Ziarat. These gifts mostly consist of a rosary, praying stones, dates or some valuable piece of cloth or handkerchief. The most valued gift is the turquoise (Feroza) of Mashhad. For several days, friends and relatives will visit the pilgrim at his home where he will serve them tea and tell them his

adventures, which are always full of interest for these simple people who have never been to a foreign land.

Through the pilgrimage of Mashhad, a strange thing is happening in Hazarajat: the introduction of oleography, or representations of the images of the Prophet and his family. As a religion, Islam is alien to such things and images are prohibited. It seems that the Hazara Mullas have no control when it comes to the oleographs, as it is spreading all over Hazarajat. These oleographs, show the Prophet sitting between his two grandsons, Hassan and Hussain, on his lap--to his left sits his son-in-law, Ali, and to his right sits his daughter, Fatima. Their faces are surrounded by a halo of flames. The Hazaras frame and hang these oleographs on their walls. Some of them also carry a small pocket mirror which has the picture of the Prophet's family.

Those who could not afford to visit such far-away places like Mashhad or Karbala, visit the places of secondary importance. Some go to Mazar-e Sharif where, according to the Afghans, Ali is buried. The Hazaras call the place Mazar-e Sakhi. Another place of importance is the shrine of Hazrat Ali at Band-e Amir, northeast of Yak Aolang in Hazarajat. For many years the Hazara Mirs and their soldiers have been visiting this place.[121] Those who still could not afford to leave their villages satisfy their cult by visiting the Ziaratgah of their own village, or of their neighbors.

Most of the Ziaratgahs are interesting places to visit. These are tombs of the Sayeds who, while alive, provided the spiritual needs of the Hazaras, and on their death were buried in a prominent place, usually on elevated ground. The tomb is decorated with small flags and banners of different colors. Next to the tombstones, candles are lighted on Friday nights. Most of the visitors to these Ziaratgahs are women and children. Several social ceremonies cause a visitation to these places; for example, the first head shaving of the baby boy (Sarkali), or the visitation of the bride and groom after the marriage.

In order to achieve their wishes, the Hazaras, mostly the women, perform different rituals at Ziaratgah. For example, a barren woman, in order to conceive a child, will light candles, drive nails, tie rags to the standard, eat or dissolve the earth from the holy site in water and drink it. Other women will rub the cotton ribbons on the tomb and then tie the ribbon around the neck of their children to prevent the evil eye.

Not every Hazara village is fortunate enough to have their own Ziaratgah. One reason is that there are few Hazara Sayeds which they

believe deserved to be buried in Ziaratgah. In order to be buried in a Ziaratgah, a Sayed must be pious and be a good example to his fellow human beings, and thus make himself an object of devotion. Whenever they find such a Sayed, the Hazaras try anything to keep him permanently in their village. Harlan happened to visit such a Ziaratgah, and tells us the background of the occasion of the event:

> "A Ziaratgah was pointed out to me in Hazarajat which the villagers had erected over the remains of a holy Sayed famous for his miraculous powers. This Sayed, confiding in their known reverence for the Prophet's descendants and by no means dreaming of the terrible result, ventured amongst that ignorant and incongruous race to solicit the religious alms that superstition and credulity confer upon a vagrant priesthood. The villagers, in their excess of piety, improved the occasion to secure a permanent blessing in the form of a Ziaratgah that would guarantee to themselves and their posterity the composition of their sins for all future time! From motives of profound veneration and the neutralization of Satanic influences, they killed their guest and buried his body in a conspicuous place, and a Ziaratgah was erected and the deed duly commemorated. To this holy edifice the conscientious sinner daily resorted to perform his devotions and solicit the rewards of piety."[122]

Hazara Holidays

Beside Eid al-Fitr (Eid-e Roza) and Eid al-Azha (Eid-e Qurbu) which they share with the Afghans, the Hazaras also observe some other holidays which are the Shia holidays. These holidays are the results of the tragic fate of the Prophet's family, which provided the Shias with a series of martyrs. From their first Imam to the eleventh Imam, either they were killed or were poisoned. There is not a single month in the Shia calendar which is free from such unhappy incidents; however, the following are the important holidays which the Hazaras observe regularly.

Muharram

While the whole month is important, the first thirteen days are especially celebrated with grief and lamenatation.

Chehlum

This is the fortieth day of the death of Hussain and falls on the 20th of Safar. This day is also celebrated with grief like the tenth of Muharram but to a lesser degree.

Chahar Shunba Sarwari

Also called Chahar Shunba Akhiri, and is related to the release of Hussain's family from the prison of Yazid. Special dishes are prepared for public distribution and known as Nazr-e Bibi Zainab, i.e., offerings to Zainub, the eldest daughter of Ali. This is strictly a women's celebration and men do not participate. This day falls on the last Wednesday of the Islamic month of Safar.

Wiladat-e Ali

This is Ali's birthday and special religious recitations are held in Takya-khanas. This holiday falls on the 13th day of the Islamic month of Rajab.

Ramazan

While the whole month is important for both the Afghans and the Hazaras, the latter celebrate the 19th and 21st days with the same grief as Muharram as the day of Ali's wounding and his subsequent death.

Eid-e Ghadir

The 18th of Dhul-Haj is observed by the Hazaras as one of the happiest days in the whole year. It was this day when the Prophet Mohammad, after returning from the farewell pilgrimage to Mecca, commanded the Muslims to gather at the pool of Ghadir. He then addressed the people and called for Ali and lifted him up with his hand and said,

> "'Oh, people! I am no better (Auola) for you than your own souls.'" They said, 'Yes, Oh Prophet of Allah!' He said, 'Let whoever owns me as his master [Maulla] own this as his master. Oh, Allah! befriend [Wali] whoever befriends him and hate whoever hates him, and help whoever helps Ali and forsake whoever forsakes him, and compass him with reality as he goes about!' And he repeated that to them three times. He said to Ali, 'Thou hast [received] the same position from me which Harun (Aaron) had from Musa [Moses], except that there is no prophet after me.'"[123]

The Shias consider this occasion and the Prophet's saying as the declaration of Ali as the Prophet's successor, his Wasi, or executive, the first Imam.

Nao-Roze

This is the only secular holiday that the Hazaras celebrate. This falls on the 21st day of March, which is the first day of the Persian calendar year and the first day of spring. Nao-roze brings tremendous happiness into the cold-stricken Hazarajat. Snow starts melting and wild flowers and grass begin to grow.

Besides wearing new dress, the Hazaras also observe special ceremonies. They believe that if one remains happy and gay on this day, the whole year will pass happily. However, if one remains unhappy, the whole year will be spent in sorrow. For this reason, everyone looks happy and goes out of their house. They visit relatives, friends and most of them go to the Ziaratgah. The houses are cleaned and decorated with small cups full of freshly grown wheat seedlings. The men gather in Takya-khanas and hold public meetings.

Nao-roze is the time of the season when the weather turns from cold to warm. The Hazaras relate this phenomenon to a supernatural person called Ajizak, who is supposedly an old, ugly woman. The next forty days after Nao-roze are watched with anticipation. If it rains during this period, Ajizak is believed to be washing her hair. There are several other stories told which ralate to Ajizak.

Shaw-e Eid-e Murda

This is a very special celebration which is not known among any other Muslim community. This is a night celebration which falls a day ahead of Eid al-Fitr (Eid-Ramzo) and Eid al-Azha (Eid-Qurbu). During this night all the Hazaras give offerings for the souls of their dead. It is like All Saints Day among Christians. People visit cemeteries and read chapters from the Quran over their relatives' graves. During the night, candles are burned, and a special dish, Halwa-e Samanak, is prepared to be served to the neighbors, Sayeds and Mullas. To comfort the souls of the dead, they sprinkle butter on the fire and chant the following verse:

Peer wa Peshwa Arwa-she-Khushnud
Jama-geen murda Arwa-she Khushnud

May the souls of the Peer and Peshwah be happy
And also the souls of all the dead be happy.

Superstitions

Like their neighbors, the Hazaras, too, have a tradition of superstitions. The acceptance of Islam by their ancestors could not help but instill in them a fear of the forces of nature and the power of evil. The Hazara life is governed by the beliefs and practices derived from Islamic and non-Islamic traditions. However, superstitions and religion are not interlocked, and one can find both of them existing in the same individual side by side. Though the Hazara Mullas and Sayeds are stamping out these non-Islamic beliefs, the daily life of a Hazara is full of these superstitions. Whether it is birth, death, sickness or marriage, superstition is always there, and though some superstitions are disappearing, one still can find numerous examples. Many of their superstitions concerning good or evil omens are shared with other races. Others are peculiar to the Hazaras. It is the Hazara grandmother who conveys to her grandchildren all the stories about evil spirits and superstitions. As they grow, their belief in the supernatural is increased through their playmates who provide some fresh stories.

Several favorable and unfavorable omens are connected with different aminals. Cats are considered to be mysterious animals, and if someone kills a cat, he is considered to be the murderer of seven Sayeds. Black cats are considered to have special magical powers. If a household has a dog, it is believed that no angel will enter that house. If a person is seriously sick and the dog howls in the middle of the night, it is believed that death is hovering near that person. Pigeons are considered to be good animals, and keeping them in the house will keep the evil spirit away. Presence of bed bugs in the house is considered to be the cause of poverty.

Much of the Hazaras superstitions are connected with sickness and disease. This not only applies to human beings but also cattle and sheep. If a child is sick, it is usually attributed to an evil eye. The death of a woman during delivery is believed to be the work of an evil spirit. Similarly, partial paralysis and mental illness are also considered to be the work of evil spirits. Hazaras also believe in sorcery and usually a child or animal sickness is related to some offended beggar or an old woman. An unexpected event, usually of catastrophic nature, is always believed to be the result of sorcery.

When a Hazara starts a journey, his mind is saturated with superstitious ideas. Hazaras believe that they should not travel on

certain days of the week, as they are considered to be bad (Nahs) and if he continues his journey, he will suffer greatly. If, however, he has no choice, then he must pledge that on his safe return he will sacrifice some animal or distribute food among the poor. Mondays and Saturdays are considered to be very good days for starting journeys, while Wednesdays are the worst days. If one is on his way, a cat meowing is considered to be a bad omen. It is also considered a bad omen for a black cat to cross the path of a traveler, and he is to return home immediately if this occurs. In order to have a safe journey, the traveler walks with the Quran held over his head. Travelers also visit the Ziaratgah before their journey. Sometimes water is thrown on the back of a traveler and food is given to the poor as a good omen. If a traveler leaves early in the morning, the women shouldn't sweep the house, as this is considered to be a bad omen. Before undertaking a long journey, a Hazara consults his Mulla to find a suitable day. The Mulla does this either by using his rosary beads or opening the pages of the Quran, and it is called "Istekhara."

The Hazaras believe in the "evil eye" and consider it to be especially dangerous to small children. This evil eye could be of invisible genies and fairies or of a human being. However, the evil eye of genies and fairies are considered more dangerous than the malicious looks of human beings. Among the human eye colors, blue eyes are considered the most evil, and mothers hide their children at the sight of a blue-eyed person.[124] To neutralize the evil effects of such eyes, children wear charms (Ta'wiz) enclosed in a colored piece of cloth, usually of blue color. These charms consist of a script from the Quran, usually written in ink but sometimes substituted with saffron. They are sewn in cloth in the shape of a triangle or square and worn around the neck or on the right arm. They also burn harmal seeds (Ispand) to save children and sick people from evil eyes.

Belief in the supernatural is very common among the Hazaras and is part of their legends and traditions. One such supernatural, invisible being is the Madar-e All (see Iwamura, et al., Dai Kundi tale, Chapter 3). These Madar-e All are said to resemble old women with scary faces, long teeth and nails, eyes that are curved downward, and teeth that are converted in place of heels. Usually they are visible during the night, but occasionally lonely travelers also find them during the daytime if they pass through the ruins of an abandoned village or a cemetery. Children are especially instructed not to go near such places nor to pass under trees during the night. Evil spirits are also supposed to

eat the corpses of animals and human beings. Besides Madar-e All, they also believe in Jin (Genie). These Jins could be of good nature or evil nature. When someone is possessed by these Jins, he will act according to the nature of the Jins. A good Jin will recite the verses of the Quran through the mouth of the possessed person, even though he does not have any training in reciting the Quran. A bad Jin will harm the people through his acts by setting fire, breaking kitchenware or scaring the people by turning their beds upside down. Some of the Hazara Mullas are trained to release the possessed person through exorcism, which is considered to be the only remedy. Though the custom does not exist at present, they once performed a ritual at the time of a child's birth. They would keep food outside the house for the Jins to gain their favor, so they would not harm the baby.[125]

Belief in witchcraft is prevalent among the Hazaras, and it is practiced occasionally. If one family has a grudge with another family, they usually expect some kind of witchcraft. To avoid the effect of such an action, they keep secret all their social activities. One such occasion is the Nikah ceremony which occurs during weddings. This ceremony is held in strict secrecy because it is believed that if the other party knows the exact timing of the ceremony, they can make the groom impotent through the act of witchcraft. Similar witchcraft acts are also related to childbirth. To protect the family from witchcraft, special charms are prepared, which are either tied to the neck or shoulder of the child or burned in front of the family members. The charms worn around the neck are called Ta'wiz, and those burned are called Dooda.

Fortune tellers are always welcome among the Hazara women-folk. Fortune tellers are either village Mulla or professional women who visit the Hazara village every now and then. The visit of such a fortune teller has been described in detail by Hamilton.[126] She found such a fortune teller as "... a wizened, cunning-eyed old woman who, when she visited a Hazara village, was surrounded by curious young girls. For her services she will ask for a pair of old boots or a little salt." In telling a fortune, the Mulla gets most of his help from Quran and his rosary. He refers to his fortune telling as Fal-Nama. He does his job by randomly opening the Quran (usually he closes his eyes). The first word on the right-hand page is selected, and from it he derives the meanings according to his set of rules which are not known to anybody else. He also uses a small book called Jantari-e Zanjani. This Jantari contains the twelve months of the Muslim lunar calendar year along

with that of the Afghan solar calendar, the interpretation (Ta'bir) of dreams and a chart for knowing the future. The Mulla will ask the fortune seeker to close his eyes and place his finger on the chart, and then the Mulla will interpret the meaning of the spot on which the person had placed his finger.

Another method to predict the future is the use of the shoulder blade of a lamb or a goat. The bone is boiled in water to remove the meat and to make the tabular surface clear. The blade is held over the eyes and the fortune seeker will look at the center of the blade which becomes transparent enough in the sunlight. Through the structural organization of the vesicles in the center, he will construct imaginary thoughts and conclude to find something related to his future. Harlan noted a very interesting incident related to such practice. He stated that:

> "A Hazara laboring in the field, winnowing wheat, chanced to observe the shoulder blade of a sheep lying near. Curiosity induced him to take a view of the future, when, on taking up and inspecting this faithful monitor, he distinctly saw the approach of an Uzbeck foray prefigured as rapidly approaching the thrashing floor. Time was not to be lost. Incautiously throwing away the bone, he forthwith plunged into the straw stack and snugly hid himself before the danger arrived upon the ground. The Uzbecks, however, stopped to gather up some of the grain in the nosebags of their horses. One of the party versed in black magic, on seeing the bone, also became curious to ascertain future prospects when, on inspection, he instantly discovered that a Hazara was hidden in the straw!"[127]

Harlan suggested that it is probable the Uzbecks saw at a distance the flying chaff, and the sudden disappearance of the agent suggested his whereabouts.

Superstitions are also related to the appearance of the new moon. When most of the Hazaras see a new moon for the first time, they raise their hands toward it and pray for happiness and health. The person who sees the new moon is not supposed to look at a child, as such action may bring sickness to that child. He should preferably look into the water, especially into running streams. At the sight of a new moon, the Hazaras also distribute food among the poor and their neighbors. Ferdinand[128] recorded an old Hazara custom in Dai Zangi. According to this custom, the Hazaras light four fires in front of their houses. The

head of the family will jump over these fires and say, "Good luck come, bad luck go." (Niki dar amad Badi bur shud). In response to his singing, the people assembled around the fire will sing, "Come broken necked one, jump [over the fire] so that your broken neck may disappear." (Mutak bur biya, alghuch ku, ke mutak tu bur musha.) This custom is known among the Hazaras as Atesh Algho, which means "fireleaping." This ceremony is performed four times a year in Dai Zangi and once a year in Jaghuri. Beside this, Ferdinand[129] also reported another custom which is related to the arrival of the new moon. This custom is known as Nan-e Kam, or "little bread." On the sight of a new moon, the head of the household places a piece of bread on the Quran, holding it aloft so that each member of the family is able to pass under it, before the dedicated bread is divided for eating.

Superstitions are also connected with the names of the children. If a child is found to be continuously sick and medicine or charms can not cure him, it is believed that the child is being affected by an evil eye. In order to overcome such an evil eye, this child's name is changed. This is practiced quite often and seems to be a continuation of the old Mongolian custom. Howorth[130] mentioned such a case when the name of Prince Uljaitu was changed to Tamudar, in order to protect him from the evil eye.

Life and death are considered as God's will, and it is believed that man will live until he is called back. The Hazaras have a belief that is different from the Afghans about the longevity of life. While the Afghans believe that a bad man will live a shorter life and a good man will live longer,[131] the Hazaras believe the opposite. According to them, a good man will pass away in his early life and a bad man will live longer. They provide the explanation that God will give the bad man more chances to do good by allowing him to live longer, and in this way he may eventually go to heaven. The good man does not have to worry about living long in this sinful world, and thus God will call him earlier to his permanent residence, heaven. The good man will always wish to be called by his Master, and so he leaves this world early.

They also have superstitions connected with the days of the week, as some days are good and some are bad. For example, Saturday is good for starting a journey, marrying, buying and wearing new dresses, and building a new house. Monday and Thursday are also considered to be good days for starting journeys. Friday is the most prosperous day for wearing new dresses; however, it is bad to start a journey on Friday. Wednesday is considered the worst day to start a journey. It is

a common belief that if a journey is started on Wednesday, the person will face some accident. They try to avoid such a journey; however, if there is no other alternative, the person will pass under Quran, and his relatives will distribute food for his safe return. If a person dies on Wednesday night, it brings great sorrow for the family as it is a bad sign to die on such a day. Only a man with bad character is supposed to die on Wednesday, so to comfort the dead man's soul relatives offer special prayers. If a man dies on Friday night (Thursday night according to the western reckoning), he is considered to be a pious man and he will go to heaven. A pious man will die without any long suffering on his death bed and his soul will be released from his body without any difficulty. A bad man will suffer for a long time on his death bed, as his soul will have great difficulty releasing from the body. They call it Talkh-e Jan Kandan, meaning the bitterness of soul releasing.

Besides the days of the week, some of the months are also considered to be good or bad. Of special concern are the months of Muharram and Safar when no social function which causes happiness or joy are celebrated. It is considered to be taboo, and if a person does not follow the rule, he is considered to be an infidel. On the other hand, Rajab and Sha'ban are the months when many of the happy social functions are celebrated.

They also believe that if a man's back is tapped during a thunder storm, he will become rich. If the palm of the hand begins to itch, this is a good sign that will bring money. An accidental overlapping of the shoes means that the owner will be leaving very soon for a journey. If an eyelid twitches, it will bring good luck.

The Hazaras are always anxious to know the meaning of their dreams. Usually they ask the Mulla to interpret their dreams. Sometimes they also refer to the Jantari, which usually carries the meaning of common dreams. For example, dreaming of one's teeth falling out means he will soon die. Seeing blood in one's dreams means that he will be injured or see a killing. If a person dreams his hair is turning gray, he will have a long life.

Hazara Calendar System

In Hazarajat, one will find a mixture of calendars which are used by the Hazaras. The first one is the Arabic Lunar Calendar, which is commonly known as Hisab-e Mah, meaning "reckoning by the month." It is a lunar calendar and fluctuates from year to year. Though many of

the Arabic names of the months have been retained, some are changed into typical Hazara terms. For example:

Arabic Lunar Calendar	Hazara Lunar Calendar
Muharram	Muharram
Safar	Safar
Rabi al-Awal	Alghu-e Awal
Rabi al-Sani	Alghu-e Duyum
Jamad al-Awal	Alghu-e Soyum
Jamad al-Sani	Alghu-e Charum
Rajab	Rajab
Sha'ban	Shabo
Ramazan	Ramzo
Shawal	Mah-e Eid
Dul-Qad	Mah-e Khali
Dul-Haj	Qurbo

The second is theAfghan solar calendar which starts on the 21st day of March, or with the first day of the Afghan solar month, Hammal, and is known as Hisab-e Burj, or "reckoning by the zodiac." The third is their own original animal calendar, which, although not widely used, still exists in Hazarajat. This is a twelve-year cycle, and every year is reckoned after the name of an animal. For example, if the animal of the first year of the cycle is a mouse (i.e., Jill-e Mush, the year of the mouse), it will appear again after twelve years. The sequence of the animals used by the Hazaras is different than the sequence reported by de la Croix and Shurmann which was used by medieval Mongols.

Hazara Calendar	After de la Croix[132]	After Schurmann[133]
Mush	Mouse	Mouse
Palang	Ox	Leopard
Nahang	Leopard	Dragon
Faras	Hare	Horse
Shadi	Crocodile	Monkey
Kalb	Serpent	Dog
Baqar	Horse	Ox
Khargush	Sheep	Rabbit
Mar	Monkey	Snake
Gusfund	Hen	Sheep
Murgh	Dog	Hen
Khuk	Hog	Pig

Though not commonly used, occasionally one hears that a person was born or an accident happened in the year of a particular animal. In the absence of a calendar system, another peculiar system was in use regarding a person's birthday. If a person was asked when he was born, the usual answer would be, "A year or two before the great storm." If asked when that great storm occurred, the answer would be, "That was six winters before it snowed blood." To answer the further question, "When was that?" the answer would be, "That was the winter when Amir (Abdur Rahman) came back from Russia."[134]

The calendar year is divided into four equal seasons, i.e., Bahar (spring), Tabistan (summer), Tirmah (autumn), and Zimestan (winter). The winter season, which is the longest and the harshest season in the Hazarajat, is further divided into eleven Toghal, or "counting." Each of these Toghal begins with the appearance of the Pleiades (Mechid) in the sky, which occurs during the summer and ends at the beginning of the spring. The reckoning of Toghal has a direct relationship with the change of weather. As the Toghal system approaches the end, the weather gets warmer and the snow stops falling -- a sign that spring has arrived. For a detailed treatment of the Toghal system see Ferdinand's notes.[135] Also, for more details about Hazara superstitions see Jam's thesis.[136]

References

1. Bellew, Journal of :55
2. Dupree, Afghanistan: 161; Gregorian: 34
3. Schurmann, Mongols: 253
4. Sun: 14-15
5. Barthold, Turkistan: 391
6. Vladimirtsov, Life of Chingis Khan: 64
7. Ibid: 54
8. Ibid: 77
9. Marco Polo: 392, Note #4
10. Ibid: 54
11. Ibid: 77
12. Sun: 256
13. Bacon, Obok: 5
14. Ibid, Hazara Mongol: 6
15. Vanbery, Travels in: 307
16. Smith, et al.: 72
17. Encyclopedia Islam, I:228
18. Schurmann; Mongols: 29
19. Ibid: 120-121
20. Ibid: 121
21. Ibid: 120
22. Bacon, Hazara Mongols: 44
23. Timurkhanov: 26
24. Turkman: 37, 84, 114, 175, 484, 569, 573, 707, 711, 925
25. MacGregor, 2: 57
26. Aristov: 270
27. Timurkhanov: 26
28. Babarnama: 151, 155, 162, 229, 288
29. Schurmann, Mongols: 124
30. Zafarnama, 1: 372
31. Schurmann, Mongols: 124
32. Timurkhanov: 26
33. Ibid: 28
34. Howorth 3: 540
35. Boyle, 5: 538
36. Schurmann, Mongols: 120
37. Donaldson: 291
38. Boyle, 5:541
39. Al-Hilli: X ii
40. Brown: 40
41. Boyle, 5: 541
42. Howorth, 3: 453
43. D'Ohsson, 4: 277-281
44. Al-Hilli: X ii
45. Howorth, 3: 540-542
46. Brown: 44
47. Rashid-ud Din, 3:217-218
48. Al-Hilli: xii
49. Howorth, 3: 540-542
50. Al-Hilli: X ii
51. Ibn Battuta, 2: 256-261
52. Howorth, 3: 534-540
53. Boyle, 5: 544
54. Brown: 160
55. Boyle, 5: 565
56. Brown: 178
57. Lane-Poole: 251
58. Howorth: 743
59. Boyle, 5: 564
60. Ibn Battuta, 3: 574-575
61. Howorth, 3: 743
62. Ibn Hawqal: 219-220
63. Dianous, 19: 82
64. Schurmann, Mongols: 29, 121
65. Harlan: 136
66. Ibid: 139
67. Ibid: 139-140
68. Ibid: 151-152
69. Riazi: 46
70. Schurmann, Mongols: 31
71. Harlan: 139, 142, 151
72. Schurmann, Mongols: 31
73. Canfield, Faction & Conversion: 9
74. Bacon, Obok: 6
75. Canfield: 117
76. Ibid: 90
77. Ferdinand, Preliminary Notes: 18
78. Secret Letters, 29: 771; 33: 86; 55: 134
79. Ibid, 48: 117; 49: 283
80. MacDonald: 311
81. Donaldson: 307
82. Badshah Hussain: 29
83. MacDonald: 317
84. Fyzee: 31-32
85. Abdus Subhan: 423
86. Hollister: 44
87. Al-Hilli: 71
88. Mohsin Fani: 315-328

89. Algar: 2
90. Al-Hilli: 69-71
91. MacDonald: 313
92. Mohsin Fani: 324-325
93. Bellew, Journal: 55
94. Algar: 6
95. Hollister: 30
96. Daudpota: 79
97. Ibid: 82-83
98. Ibid: 82
99. Ibid: 82
100. Ibid: 84-85
101. Fyzee: 87
102. Frischaver: 66-67
103. Schurmann: 158
104. Ferrier: 184
105. Holdich: 484; Wood: 138; Elphinstone, 2: 209; Burnes: 232; Broadfoot: 345; Hayat Khan: 309; Cervin: 400; Harlan: 121
106. Elphinstone, 2: 209
107. Burnes: 232; Wood: 128
108. Broadfoot: 345
109. Harlan: 121
110. Thesiger, 121: 319
111. Conolly: 332
112. Vreeland: 71
113. Harlan: 122
114. Ibid: 123
115. Ivanov: 288-289
116. Donaldson: 29
117. Dupree, Afghanistan: 465
118. Iwamura: 208-209
119. Ferdinand, Preliminary Notes: 95
120. Masson, 2: 315
121. Ibid, 2: 313
122. Harlan: 151
123. Al-Hilli: 75-76
124. Bellew, Journal: 386
125. Vigne: 211
126. Hamilton, Vizier's Daughter: 7
127. Harlan: 146
128. Ferdinand, Preliminary Notes: 45
129. Ibid: 45
130. Howorth, 3: 534
131. Wilber: 127
132. de la Croix: 39
133. Schurmann, Mongols: 192
134. Hamilton, Vizier's Daughter: 76
135. Ferdinand, Preliminary Notes; 40-44
136. Jam, Sociological Study: 83-87

5

Hazaras And The Rulers Of Kabul And Neighboring States: A Chronology

Since their formation as an ethnic people, Hazaras established themselves as an independent nation surrounded by hostile nations. During this long retained independence, they faced raids from their neighbors, sometimes from the slave traders and sometimes from aggressive rulers who wanted to occupy their land and incorporate it into their kingdoms. Several rulers of the neighboring countries occupied the villages on the periphery of Hazarajat and forced the Hazaras to pay taxes. Most of these villages were in the north and northeast, in the Besud and Bamian regions, and in the south in Jaghuri and Qarabagh regions. Tamerlane seems to have been the last sovereign to subjugate the Hazaras; they shook off the yoke at his death, and have remained free in the mountains ever since. The Safavids, the Grand Mughal, Nadir Shah, and Ahmad Shah Sadozai have never been able to subjugate them again.[1] However, Hazarajat was never completely occupied by any foreign force until 1893, when the forces of Amir Abdur Rahman defeated the Hazara tribes one by

one and occupied the whole country, thus ending the independent status of Hazarajat. Whatever literature is available shows that the Hazaras tried to keep themselves independent from their neighboring states and when their independence was challenged, they fought bravely.

Amir Timur: 1370-1405

The first neighboring ruler who tried to subjugate the Hazaras and force them to pay taxes and tributes was Timur. When he conquered the countries west of River Indus, he conferred upon his grandson, Pir Mohammad and invested him with the government of the provinces of Kabul, Ghazni, and the territories in that quarter to the banks of the Indus and borders of India, comprising the early possession of Mahmud Subuktagin.[2] This covers almost all the areas populated by the Hazaras.

Shah Rukh: 1405-1445

It was Shah Rukh, son of Timur, who forced the Hazaras to pay tribute. We are told by Price that presents, to a considerable extent in horses and camels, were conveyed to the court on the part of the chiefs of the Hazara districts, together with concessions sufficiently on the subject of tribute and allegiance. When Shah Rukh sent his forces to collect the tribute from the districts of the occupied land, all returned with the tribute except the one dispatched to Hazara districts. Price further tells us why they returned empty-handed:

> "After a residence of several days, instead of fulfilling their engagements, Amir Shaikh Lukman Barlas found them disposed, under every possible pretext, to protract and elude the payments for which they had pledged themselves. In consequence of this, the Amirs, Mohamed Souffy and Moussa, were employed, by order of the Shah, to overrun and lay waste the country; which having executed, and further sufficiently chastised the insolence of these refractory hordes, they rejoined the camp of their sovereign on the Helmund."[3]

Mirza Aba Bakar: 1472

Mirza Aba Bakar, the ruler of Yarqand and Kashghar in the year of 1472, subdued several of the upper Hazara districts of Badakhshan.[4]

Shah Beg Khan: 1509-1510

In the years 1509-1510, Shah Beg Khan, the ruler of Samarqand and Bokhara, led an army against the Hazaras. Search as he might, he could not find a trace of them in the Hazara mountains for they had crept into hiding so that it was impossible to find them.[5]

Zahir-ud Din Babar: 1505-1530

When Babar conquered Kabul, he found that toward the western mountains of Kabul nations lived by the name of Hazara and Nikudiri. After complete subjugation of Kabul, Babar asked the people including the Hazaras for the tribute. In his words:

> "A large tribute in horses and sheep had been laid on the Sultan Masudi Hazaras. Word came a few days after collectors had gone to receive it, that the Hazaras were refractory and would not give their goods. As these same tribesmen had before that come down on the Ghazni and Girdiz roads, we got to horse, meaning to take them by surprise. Riding by the Maidan road, we crossed the Nirkh Pass by night and in the morning prayers fell upon them near Jaltu [Chatu]."[6]

After subjugating the Hazaras in the south, Babar paid attention to the Hazaras in the north which he called the Turkman Hazara. Continuing his narration, he further tells us that:

> "We raided a few Hazaras at Janglik, at the mouth of Dara-i Khush [Happy Valley]. Some were in caves near the valley's mouth, hiding perhaps. Shaikh Darwish Kukuldash, went in cautiously right up to the cave mouth. He was shot in the chest by a Hazara inside the cave and died there. As most of the Hazaras seemed to be wintering inside the Dari-i Khush, we marched against them. That winter the snow lay very deep; to move was difficult except on the roads. The swampy meadows along the stream were all frozen. The stream could only be crossed from the road because of snow and ice. The Hazaras had cut many branches, put them at the exit from the water, and were fighting in the valley bottom on foot or on horses with arrows raining down from either side. The Hazaras could make no stand before our forces. They fled, swiftly pursued and unhorsed one after another. Near the Hazara winter camp, we found many sheep and herds of horses. I, myself, collected as many as 400-500 sheep and from 20-25 horses."

The Turkman Hazaras had not recovered from Babar's first raid when they were attacked a second time. While coming back from Khurasan, Babar found these Turkman Hazaras with their wives and little children in camps they made upon the road. As Babar writes:

> "They had no word about us; when we got in amongst their cattle pens and tents, two or three groups went to ruin and plunder the people while they drew off with their children, abandoning their houses and goods."[7]

Shah Abbas Safavi: 1588-1629

In late Safavi times, covering the east and northeast of Persia was the then enormous province of Khurasan. It contained the two big provinces of Qandahar and Herat, each of which was under a governor general or Beglar Begi. The eastern border lay 50 miles to the east of Qalat-e Ghilzai where it ran first north and northwest up to the Koh-e Baba range. This shows that almost all Hazarajat was included in the Safavi territorial limits. Hazarajat was not ruled by the Beglar Begi of Herat or Qandahar but was independent. Schurmann[8] recorded a Hazara legend which tells that Shah Abbas I, during his sojourn in Hazarajat, resided in the house of Daulat Beg in Taimiran, near Qandahar. Pleased with his hospitality, he invited him to his court and was given several gifts and allowed him to rule Hazarajat, from Besud to Kabul. Shah Abbas, while giving the rulership of Hazarajat to the Dai Kundi Mirs, said, "May the rule of the Hazarajat be with you for eight generations." According to Schurmann's informant, after eight generations, the rulership of Hazarajat by Daulat Begs ended as Hazarajat became Afghan territory at the time of Amir Sher Ali Khan (1863-1879). However, this interpretation of Hazara legend by Schurmann has been contradicted by Soviet scholar Timurkhanov. He states that Hazarajat was not conquered by Shah Abbas, so he could not appoint Daulat Beg to rule over the Hazara tribes. Secondly, neither the Daulat Beg nor his descendents ever ruled over the Hazarajat. His family did not even have full control over the territory of Dai Kundi.[9] However, according to another source, the Persian Safavid king, Shah Abbas I (1588-1629), was able to influence the Hazaras by appointing an elder over them.[10]

For over two hundred years, the Persian Safavid dynasty (1501-1732) and the Muslim-India Mughal dynasty (1526-1707) fought for

control of Afghanistan. In the 16th century, a three-cornered fight developed among the Uzbeks in the north, the Mughals in the south, and the Safavids in the west. All three continually bumped against each other in a line running from Kabul to Qandahar.

Kabul came under Mughal control in 1504 but Safavid Persia ruled most of western Afghanistan by 1598. Shah Abbas I drove the Uzbeks out of Herat and recaptured Qandahar in 1662. Herat remained in Safavid Persian hands until the rise of the Abdalis, who had been driven from power in the Qandahar region by the Ghilzais in 1716.[11]

Shah Jahan 1628-1658

Bamian, an important center linking the regions of Oxus, the Indus and Hazarajat, remained more or less open for expeditions undertaken by successors, notably Shah Jahan, but he, too, was not successful in invading Hazarajat proper.[12]

Throughout the period of Mughal-Persian rivalry, the Pashtun tribes were increasing in number and influence. It was probably during this period that the Abdalis and Ghilzais spread from their mountain homes over the more fertile lands of Qandahar, Zamindawar and the Arghandab valleys. Their rise was facilitated by the decline in the position and influence of Tajiks who had borne the brunt of the Mongolian invasions, and whose mountain fortresses in Ghur had been occupied by a semi-Mongolian population, the Hazaras.[13]

Mahmud, Hakim of Qandahar, 1721

During the second expedition of Afghans against Persia in 1721, Mahmud, the ruler of Qandahar, gathered about 10,000 Afghans. But to conquer Persia, Mahmud needed a much larger force, so he asked the neighboring countries for help and indeed received much help. Hazaras joined the Afghans in thousands and fought against their Shia brothers in Persia.[14]

Nadir Shah Afshar, 1736-1747

Nadir Shah was successful in courting the Hazara tribes as the chiefs of Dai Zangi, and Dai Kundi had helped him with six thousand cavalry.[15] These tribes had submitted and he removed a number of their families and settled them in the Badghis region in Herat.[16] Another source gave the number of the Hazaras removed to Badghis as ten thousand; the colony is now represented by the Hazaras

of Kala-e Nau.[17]

Ahmad Shah Durrani, 1747-1773

When Ahmad Shah Durrani was stretching his empire to the east, Nasim Khan was the governor of Kabul representing Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb of India. To face the Durrani advancement, he recruited people from the tribes of Uzbek and Hazaras. On the other hand, the Durrani Khan sent one of his ministers, Begi Khan, with a strong force to subdue the countries to the northeast where the Hazaras and other tribes had not yet acknowledged his dominion.[18] Some of the southern Hazara tribes of Mohammad Khwaja and Jaghatu were the subjects of the Khan and were paying taxes to him.[19]

Zaman Shah, 1773-1793

During the reign of Zaman Shah many of the southern and eastern Hazara tribes were the taxpaying subjects. According to Harlan:

> "The Hazarahs subject to Kabul are Beysoot, Fouladee, Bamien, and Bulkh Yaree, of Hazarajat, and the Turkman Hazarahs and Sheikh Ali Hazarahs of the Hindoo Kush . . . Some of the Hazarah tribes near Kandahar are subject to an imposed levied by the chiefs of that government . . . The leading Hazarah chiefs were opposed to the supremacy of the Cabul kings in the Alpine districts. In this policy they were justified by the treachery and tyranny of the Suddoozye tribe which ruled over the Cabul kingdom. One of the Hazarah chiefs, attracted probably by the prospect of power and ambitions of courtly influence amongst his conferees, presented himself at the Cabul court when Zeman Shah was king. It was amongst the evil measures of that ill-advised monarch to seize and blind the unfortunate Hazarah chief. This was suggested by the unwise display of military power on the part of the Hazarah, which aroused the jealousy of Zeman Shah. The consequences have been fatal to Hazarah confidence in Afghan faith and friendship."[20]

Shah Zeman also appointed a governor, Zainul Khan, who was Mughal from Herat and was stationed at Bamian. He forced the Hazaras to submit to Shah Zaman's authority and made them peaceful subjects.[21]

During the early decades of the 19th century Hazarajat was under

different rulers. Yak Aolang was under Mir Mohib,[22] Dai Zangi under Bahadoor Beg, and Mir Sadiq Beg possessed the territory of Sar-i Jangal. Sardar Hassan Khan bin Zorab was the chief of Hazaras of Pusht-e Koh.[23]

English in Afghanistan, 1839

While the relationship between the Hazaras and the British in Afghanistan has no historical significance, a few incidents did occur in the early decades of the 19th century. One such incident was reported by Sykes.[24] According to him, Dr. Lord, the political officer, created local hostility by attacking a Hazara fort whose inhabitants had refused to sell their own scanty supplies of forage, on which their own cattle depended. The assailants burned the forage and the unfortunate Hazaras were burned alive or shot. This incident was also reported by another historian, Harlan.[25]

When the English achieved transient possession of Afghanistan in 1839, the Hazara chiefs temporized with that power; subsequently, at a general conference, they resolved their differences.[26]

Yar Mohammad of Herat, 1846-1848

During the second reign of Dost Mohammad, Yar Mohammad seized the supreme power at Herat, thus extending his authority over the small Uzbek Khanats in the north, Maimana, Sir-e Pul, Shiberghan, Andkhui and Akihah. He also attacked the Hazaras and transplanted eight thousand Hazara families to the depopulated lower valley of Hari Rud.[27]

Dost Mohammad, 1826-1863

With Dost Mohammad arriving in Kabul, a new dynasty took over, headed by Dost Mohammad, Chief of Barakzais. The Hazaras situation was disturbed on several occasions. Even though much of Hazarajat was pacified and Afghans were in full control, it was reported that pockets of Hazarajat were still run by independent Hazara chiefs at the time of Dost Mohammad's arrival.

For example, Gulistan Khan was the chief of Qarabagh who controlled the tribes of Mohammad Khwaja, Jolga, Jarmatu and Jaghuri.[28] The Besud and Dai Zangi were other tribes reported to be free and independent during his arrival. It was reported that the Besudis were practically independent, while the Takhana Dai Zangi must have been entirely so.[29]

It has been briefly described that Amir Dost Mohammad Khan was not free from the fear of a Hazara chief of extraordinary character named Mir Yazdan Bakhsh. A detailed description of the affairs of this Hazara chief and the Amir have been recorded by Mohan Lal, Holdich, and Masson and it was appropriate to narrate these historians in their entirety so that we may understand the relationship between Dost Mohammad and the Hazaras.

According to Mohan Lal[30] and supported by Masson, Mir Yazdan Bakhsh was the youngest son of Mir Vali Beg of Karzar; after defeating his elder brother, Mir Mohammad Shah, became the principal chief or Mir of Besud. The more he grew in power among his Hazara tribes and extended his territorial possession, the more apprehensions arose in the mind of Amir Dost Mohammad Khan. He justly thought that the Ghulam Khanah, i.e., the Qizilbash, a powerful body in Kabul, were connected by the ties of their faith with the Shia sect and with the valient Mir of the Hazara; as they were principally the instruments of his (Amir) prosperity, they might turn against him and join the Mir to seek his adversity and destruction. He found no other way to entrap the object of his apprehension but to cultivate for himself a deeper confidence in Shias of Kabul. He accordingly showed them all attention and civility, and at length persuaded them to establish a closer alliance between him and Mir Yazdan Bakhsh, by his visit to Kabul. He wrote all the sacred oath and solemn obligations of swearing on the Holy Quran and affixing his seal to it. He assured the Mir of his personal safety and respectable treatment, and the Shias of Kabul became responsible for the veracity of the engagement. When Besud Mir received that communication of the Amir, which was guaranteed by the people of his own creed, he prepared to set out for the city. One of his wives also accompanied him to Kabul. Dost Mohammad received them civilly, but soon seized the opportunity to make his guests prisoners. The perfidious Dost Mohammad would have killed the Mir without loss of time, but the more talented prisoner knew well that gold was the only thing which would melt the strong feelings of the Afghans, and especially of their treacherous host. He offered him, therefore, one lakh (one hundred thousand) of rupees if immediately liberated, and permitted him to go and collect from his own country and in the meantime, to make the Shias of Kabul security for the payment. The Amir, being always notoriously inexigence, contracted the orders for his execution, so that he might secure for himself possession of the money. While the arrangements were going

on for obtaining the security of the Ghulam Khanah (Qizilbash), with regard to his payment of the offered sum, the captive Mir contrived his escape from the prison. When this became known to Amir, there was no restraint to his wrath and disappointment.

Mohan Lal further tells us that after his escape, the Hazara chief was negotiating with the neighboring Hazara rulers and strengthening his rule. But he never showed any ill will toward the Amir of Kabul, and never interfered with his extortion which shows his greatness. On the other hand, the Amir had not lost sight of the increasing power of his fugitive visitor. He was watching his progress with bitterness of mind, and searching for a favorable opportunity to check and destroy it. Dost Mohammad saw that no one was more suitable for the destruction of this Hazara chief than Haji Khan. He now appointed Haji Khan Kakar, a soldier of fortune, as governor of Bamian and, in return for such a favor, asked him to destroy the Hazara Mir. This power hungry man did everything to keep the governorship of Bamian. Dost Mohammad allowed him two years to effect the plan of establishing the Amir's authority in Bamian on firmer footing. He reinforced Haji Khan with 2,000 troops and gave him an elephant as a present. Masson, who knew Haji Khan very well, tells us about this person. According to him:

> "Haji Khan, a Kakar soldier of fortune, got acquainted with Dost Mohammad during his residence at Qandahar. He had originally served under Sherin Khan, in the employ of Mustapha Khan, a brother of Mahmud Khan, the chief of Kalat. Haji Khan soon grew into great favor. The Afghan Khan, a profound master in dissimulation, had hitherto contrived in his public career to pass himself off as a man of voracity, and of fidelity to any cause he espoused; and although a few may have had penetration sufficient to question his integrity, it is certain that no public character in Afghanistan stood in so high or universal esteem."[31]

Haji Khan Kakar, by his cunning manners, according to Mohan Lal,[32] had cultivated a friendly sentiment and intimate connection with the Shias of Kabul and secured their confidence by pledging himself to support their cause against the Amir if circumstances required it. In consequence of this, they (Qizilbash) always wrote to Mir Yazdan Bakhsh advising him to rely on the word and counsels of Haji Khan, who, on the other hand, gained the sincere intimacy of the Hazara Mir by binding himself to destroy all the ill intentions of the Amir towards

him. He even said that he would stand by his side if he was to rebel from necessity. Meanwhile, Haji Khan was strengthening his force and was busy in making an alliance with Yazdan Bakhsh's enemies. Thus his agent at Bamian entered into an agreement with the Tatar chief of Saighan, the bitter enemy of the Hazara chief. This agreement alarmed the Hazara chief who thought rightly that this proceeding was a league made for his destruction. He therefore turned out all the Afghan soldiers from all forts where he had himself formerly placed them. He subdued and took possession of all the castles of the petty Hazara chiefs dependent on Afghans, and became the ruling master of the Bamian valley. This alarmed the Amir of Kabul and Haji Khan, whose interests were connected with the Bamian territory, showed him the necessity of reducing the Mir. He also took it upon himself to settle the matter. In order to test the sincerity of his false friendship, the Amir appointed a new governor of Bamian and sent a message that his agent at Bamian had acted contrary to his order to make agreement with the ruler of Saighan. He also sent the Quran with oaths that the past was forgotten, and that the future would daily increase their mutual friendship and confidence.

Mohan Lal continues his narration and tells us that, on the other hand, Mir Yazdan Bakhsh was thinking about his enemy in the north which was a constant threat to his authority. He accordingly came with a large force to subdue Mohammad Ali Beg, the Tatar chief of Saighan, but the latter shut himself up in a fort and showed no indication to fight.

Another year rolled on; neither the Amir of Kabul nor Haji Khan were careless about the means of weakening the Hazara Mir. Haji Khan was somehow able to make an agreement of friendship with Mir Yazdan Bakhsh, and their combined forces marched to the north, with the presumed object of crushing the chief of Saighan, and ultimately repeating the process on Rahmatullah Khan, the chief of Kamard. On reaching Saighan, Haji Khan patched up an alliance with Mohammad Ali by marrying one of his daughters. The alliance ought to have aroused the suspicion of the Mir, but the latter seems to have trusted the strength of his following to meet any possible contingency.[33]

The next step was to proceed to Kamard and repeat the process of occupation. On reaching Kamard, part of the force which was mostly Hazaras, were sent for hostile operations against the Kamard chieftain. Haji Khan had now succeeded in breaking up the Hazara force into two or three detached bodies; therefore, the opportunity was ripe for

one of the blackest acts of treachery that ever disgraced Afghan history.[34]

One morning while camping outside Kamard, Haji Khan summoned Mir Yazdan Bakhsh and his relations to come to his tent. When he entered the tent, Haji Khan spoke to him in an angry tone of voice and accused him of intrigue against him. Forgetting all the often repeated oaths of friendship, he seized the Mir with all his relatives.[35]

Masson, who was present during this tragic incident, described it:

> "The day after our arrival at Kila Khoja snow fell. In the morning, the Khan summoned to his Kergah his naib [assistant] Sadadin and Mir Yazdan Bakhsh. They having arrived, he then sent for Mir Abbas, brother of Mir Yazdan, and his other relatives and officers, with the two chiefs of Deh Zangi, who came supposing Mir Yazdan required their attendance, as they were told. The Khan, when his brother Daoud Mohammad Khan entered the Kergah followed by a large party of armed Afghans, angrily asked Mir Yazdan why he had thrown defeat among his troops, and occasioned a triumph to the Tatar. The Mir, aware of his critical situation, said, 'Khan, place me in front and see what I will do with the Tatars.' The Khan spoke abusively in Pashto, arose, and ordered the seizure of the Mir and his attendants. This was effected without resistance, as those admitted within Kergah were few, the others of the Hazaras summoned standing without and their detention was an easy matter. The Neghara [gongs] sounded immediately to arm and Ghulam Hakamzada was dispatched to plunder the Mir's tent . . . The poor fellows [the Hazara soldiers] were paralized by the seizure of their chiefs, and had no other thought but to provide each for his individual safety. As soon as the seizure of Mir Yazdan was known, the Khaka troops [Afghans] hastened to despoil the Hazaras and obtain a great number of horses and arms. It was afflicting to behold the unfortunate Hazaras made captives and in the midst of snow and inclement weather reduced to a state of nudity by their merciless tyrant; even the brothers and officers of Yazdan Bakhsh were not spared, and Mir, himself, was the only person who had his clothing. A son of Mir Mohammad Shah and nephew to Mir Yazdan was dragged by three or four Afghans, shivering, barefooted and without any

> other covering than an old pair of peyjamas [trousers] which his despoilers, in their humanity, had bestowed upon him. The prisoners' arms were secured behind them by ropes at their elbow joints, while ropes were fixed round their necks, with the ends hanging down to be taken hold of by the prisoners having immediate charge of each of them. I saw Mir Yazdan Bakhsh when he left the Kergah to mount his horse; he raised his dejected head, cast a momentary look around, and again dropped it.... I came up on this march with Ghulam Khanah troops; and Mohammad Jaffer Khan, Murad Khani, significantly asked 'Didi?' or, 'have you seen?' On replying affirmatively, he rejoined, 'By such perjuries and atrocities the Afghans have lost their political power and influence'.... After a secret conference with his brothers, Daoud Mohammad Khan and Khan Mohammad Khan, he ordered the execution of the Mir. From necessity he inquired of Mulla Shabudin if the destruction of Mir Yazdan was justified by the laws of the Koran; who replied, that it was absolutely indispensible; adding, that it was better that death should be inflicted by the hands of his own kinsmen.... He was led to the border of a canal of irrigation where he sat down until the preparations for his execution were completed. He begged as a favor that his hands be untied that he might repeat two Rikats of prayer. It was refused. He, therefore, as a devotional act, was compelled to be satisfied with passing the beads of his Tusbih, or rosary, between his fingers and making low ejaculations. The Peshkhidmat asked the Mir if he had anything to say. He looked around for a moment, and observed, No, what do I have to say'.... The rope being fixed, the Mir was led ino the hollow south of the castle, and six kinsmen were stationed there at each end of the rope; among these was his brother, Mir Abbas, and two sons of Vakil Saifulah. The former, being a prisoner, was compelled to assist and the two latter were afforded an opportunity to avenge the death of their father slain by the Mir. His corpse was thrown across a Yabu and instantly dispatched to Karzar. Thus fell Mir Yazdan Bakhsh, a victim of Afghan perfidy and dissimulation. It was also discovered that he had been slain on an excellent day and time, as the month of Rajab was the best of all months for a Mussulman to die in, and the Roz Juma [Friday] the best of all

days."[36]

Mohan Lal described the scene of Mir's assassination:

"The merciless Afghans began to plunder the Hazaras, who, notwithstanding the inclemency of the cold, were even deprived of their clothes. The faithless Haji Khan allowed only the Mir to live in his usual attire, and even his relations were obliged to give up their robes. It was a heartrending sight to see the poor Hazaras, barefooted and without clothes, pursued in all directions by the Afghans, who were now desirous to inflict on them wounds and every act of tyranny, because they were Shias."[37]

After the execution of their chief, the Hazara troops seemed to have scattered without striking a concerted blow; their camp was looted, whilst such wretched refugees as were caught were stripped and enslaved.[38] Haji Khan released the relatives of Mir Yazdan Bakhsh, until now detained in bonds, and significantly told them that the death of the Mir and their treatment was owing to the orders he received from Kabul.[39]

The slaughter of their chiefs did not cause his adherents at Karzar immediately to surrender the castles, as perhaps Haji Khan had hoped.[40] The seizure of Mir Yazdan had produced a universal sensation of indignation among the Hazaras; Mir Baz Ali had repaired to Karzar to concert measures with his friends there for resistance to Haji Khan. The winter seemingly allowed no military operations to be carried on against Karzar, so Mir Baz Ali returned home. The principal men at Karzar were Nazir Mir Ali and one Qasim Khan. The former had been sent to Kabul to purchase rice and articles for the entertainment of the Khan on his expected return, and the latter had been left at Karzar by the Mir to attend to the affairs of Besud, during his absence.[41] Ali Beg had been immediately dispatched to Karzar and soon the occupation of the castles were completed, and the roads to Kabul became open.[42]

After executing Mir Yazdan and plundering the Besud area, Haji Khan eventually came to Kabul to receive congratulations from his master. The Amir, however, upbraided him with the murder of Yazdan Bakhsh. Haji Khan asked if it had not been committed under his orders. "No," said Dost Mohammad Khan, 'I never told you to take seven false oaths, and afterwards to kill the man. I continually wrote to you to give him an abundance of Khelats, to secure him and bring him to Kabul when, after some time, I would have behaved

handsomely to him, and have released him.' Haji Khan retorted, that it was singular the Amir should reproach anyone on the score of taking false oaths, and inquired how he had inveigled and slain the chief of Kohistan. The Amir answered, by Ilam-Bazi, or dexterity, for he had sent logs of wood and not Korans.[43]

Murad Ali Beg of Kunduz, 1830-1840

The Hazaras living in the north of Koh-e Baba were forced to pay tribute in slaves to the Uzbek chief of Kunduz, Murad Ali Beg and Qillich Ali Khan of Balkh, and Mohammad Ali Beg of Saighan. Murad Ali Beg was an active person and led his troops himself, making many alamans towards Balkh and Hazara country, where Shia inhabitants were sold as slaves. Mohammad Ali Beg, the chief of Saighan, was the main supplier of Hazara slaves to his Kunduz chief, Murad Ali Beg, who were captured in forays by his sons and officers.[44]

According to Mohan Lal, Mohammad Ali Beg's objective was to attack or "Chapao," the villages of Hazarajat and reduce the inhabitants to slavery.[45] It had long been a favorite objective of Mir Yazdan Bakhsh, and one universally cherished by the Hazaras, to exterminate the chief of Saighan, infamous for his frequent forays, and for vindicating the sale of captives. In pursuit of his intended measures, Mir Yazdan gained over to his interest the Tatar chief of the Dasht Safed, which of course became known to Murad Ali Beg. He saw himself on the eve of a contest with the Hazaras, to whom he had only his own feeble resources to oppose. To rescue himself from impending destruction he resolved, if possible, to court the Afghans, and he was successful in making a friendship treaty with Afghan representatives in Bamian, Rahimdad Khan.[46]

Sher Ali Khan, 1863-1879

According to the Hazara legend,[47] the Hazaras were given their territory by Shah Abbas I to govern that region for eight generations. After eight generations the Hazaras lost their country to Amir Dost Mohammad Khan in 1863.

Sher Ali completely reduced the Besudis and compelled the submission of troublesome and predatory Shaikh Ali Hazaras. It was also in his time that certain revenue of tribute was obtained from the

Dai Kundis and Dai Zangis. Moreover, the acquisition of complete control over Afghan Turkistan brought with it the subjugation of the Hazaras and Tatars to the north of Bamian and Yak Aolang. The allegience of some of these tribes had never been claimed before; in the case of the remainder, it was of a vague and intermittent nature.[48]

Notable progress was made during the reign of Amir Sher Ali Khan, 1863-1867, and during 1869-1870 when the Hazaras of Balkhab, Shaikh Ali, Dai Zangi, Dai Kundi, and Jaghuri were pacified.[49] As before, these Hazaras continued to be ruled by their own Mirs, but they were made responsible for the payment of revenues to the government in Kabul. Moreover, Amir Sher Ali conferred the title of Ilkhani on Mir Mohammad, Mir of Dai Zangi, of Sardar on Sher Ali Jaghuri.[50]

When Abdur Rahman Khan came back from Bokhara (1880) and beat Sher Ali Khan and took the Kabul kingdom, the Hazara Mirs were for Sher Ali. They rebelled against Abdur Rahman Khan.[51]

Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, 1880-1901

The Amir and Hazaras relationship has been discussed in Chapter 6 entitled "Hazara War for Independence."

Shah Nasir-ud Din Qajar, 1848-1896

The Hazara elders, through the good offices of Mirza Hassan Shirazi, the Mujtahid in Mashhad, sent a request to the Shah of Persia to intervene and stop the Hazara genocide. The Mujtahid accordingly sent a letter to the Shah who contacted the Viceroy of India to contact Amir. Amir did not appreciate the Shah's interference and refused to cooperate with him. [For more detail about the correspondence between the Shah, the Amir, and the Viceroy, see Chapter 6, "The Hazara War for Independence."]

Amir Habibullah Khan, 1901-1919

During and after the Hazara war with Abdur Rahman, a great many Hazaras were either killed or took refuge in the neighboring territories. Their lands and villages were given to the Afghan nomads as a reward for their participation in the war against the Hazaras. During the time of Amir Habibullah, the Ahmadzai Afghan nomads

told the government that they were not able to cultivate the land, and, therefore, the government brought the Hazaras back to their previous lands. As time went by, the Hazaras became somewhat stronger, and clashes occurred between the Hazaras and Pashtuns.[52]

In another instance, the Hazaras who were uprooted from Hazarajat by Amir Abdur Rahman and were settled in Bagram and Nahr-e Shahi in Jalalabad, were allowed to return to their land by Amir Habibullah.[53]

At the beginning of the 20th century, Amir Habibullah offered amnesty to the Hazara refugees. He allocated lands for them in Afghan Turkistan, between Maimana and Sar-e Pol, while their homes were still under Afghan tribes occupation moving from the south.[54]

A great many Hazaras fled the country amid the Hazarajat uprising during Abdur Rahman's reign. A flow of refugees continued in the time of Amir Habibullah. Many of these refugees, especially the younger ones, found jobs in the British Army at Quetta. In 1904 the enlistment of Hazara Battalion of Pioneers was sanctioned, and at about the same time, Amir Habibullah for the first time ordered the recruitment of a few regiments to be exclusively formed of men of this race.[55]

In a proclamation dated December 17, 1904, he (Habibullah) guarenteed to the Hazaras the security of their possessions and developed land; they would no longer be given away to foreign immigrants (i.e., Pashtuns). At the same time, he called upon the Hazaras who had fled the country under the rule of his father, to return with the promise that their land, insofar that it had not already been given away to foreigners, would no longer be confiscated.[56]

In addition to all the above measures, the Afghan government had requested the Government of British India not to continue enlisting their subjects (the Hazaras) in the Indian Army. In consequence, on the disbandment of the Hazara Pioneers, no more Hazaras were taken in the Indian Army.[57] At the same time, the Amir Habibullah also hired several thousand Hazaras for building roads.[58]

Amanullah Khan, 1919-1929

Under King Amanullah Khan, a new land distribution system was undertaken on conditions unfavorable to the Pashtun nomads. The old firman (royal order or decree, actually legal confirmation) were

withdrawn from Ahmadzai (who just revolted against king) and the Mohmands, and a new firman was issued allocating the high-lying stretches above the valley.

After their defeat in the hands of Abdur Rahman, the Hazaras living in Hazarajat were forcefully brought under Afghan government control. The Hazaras never accepted the Afghans with open arms. Whenever they had a chance, they showed their hostility towards them. While much of Hazarajat was calm during Amanullah's time, an incident did occur in Bamian. While the king was visiting Bamian province, a Hazara Mir, Moshin Beg of Foladi Valley, failed to show him proper respect. This made the king very angry and he took his revenge by putting him in jail. As a further punishment, he uprooted his entire family and moved them to another district.[59]

It was also during Amanullah's reign that the sale of Hazara men, women and children were banned. However, they remained in bondage.[60]

Amanullah was confident that since he had shown leniency towards the Hazaras he therefore could, at appropriate times, ask them to reciprocate by offering their services. One such occasion was the Khost rebellion, he asked the Hazaras for help with the tribal levies.[61] It was also said that he asked the Hazaras for help against Bacha-e Saqow, and by the time Hazara forces reached Kabul, Amanullah fled the country and Bacha-e Saqow was in full control. Besides these insignificant events, it was observed that in general there was considerable grumbling and many nostalgic accounts among the Hazaras.[62]

Habibullah Khan, Bacha-e Saqow, January-October 1929

The Hazaras in general were against Bacha-e Saqow and showed their favor towards Amanullah Khan. This situation did not disturb the political conditions of Hazarajat in general. However, in Tagaw, Bamian, where the population was Tajiks and supporters of Bacha, there was danger of bloodshed. When Bacha was notified of the danger of Tajiks being overrun by the Hazaras, he sent a large force from Kabul who forced their way into Bamian basin and saved the lives of Tajiks. The armies of Bacha-e Saqow forced the Hazaras to flee to the mountains; they ransacked the Hazara houses and executed prominent Hazara leaders in the Bamian valley.[63]

In August 1929 the Hazaras once again became active,[64] however,

no evidence of any fighting could be found except at Jang Qala. When Bacha-e Saqow forces tried to cross the Unai Pass, the Hazara volunteers from Jang Qala successfully defended their positions.[65]

Mohammad Nadir Shah, 1929-1933

Peace did not return to the Hazarajat until Mohammad Nadir Khan took power in Kabul in October, 1929, ending Bacha-e Saqow's reign. Nadir Shah was welcomed as the new king by the Hazaras. In succeeding years, however, the king established himself solidly by erecting government posts and assigning more Afghan officials in the remote corners of Hazarajat. This created quite an ill feeling amongst the Hazaras who started shunning the Afghan officials. Canfield has recorded one such incident which shows the Hazaras' resentment towards Afghans' solidifying their grip over Hazarajat. According to him, one Alaqadar (Afghan officer of a small rural station) was assigned to Shibar, and was not well received by the local Hazaras. Since the Alaqadar did not have permanent quarters, he had to live among the Hazaras who provided him a place, grudgingly, until permanent quarters were built.[66]

A tragic incident occurred on November 8, 1933, during a celebration at the royal palace in Kabul where the king was in attendance. As Nadir Shah entered the soccer playground, a participant, who was a student at Nijat, fired at the king with a revolver. The shots struck Nadir Shah in the shoulder and the mouth. He was carried into the royal pavilion, where he died without regaining consciousness.[67]

Who was Nadir Shah's assassin? It is often asserted that he was the natural son of Ghulam Nabi Charkhi, whose father was Ghulam Hyder Charkhi, the Amir Abdur Rahman's commander-in-chief and one of Amanullah Khan's most zealous supporters. His name was Mohammad Khaliq, a Hazara, who at that time was seventeen years old and was adopted by Ghulam Nabi Charkhi. It is said that he was outraged by Nadir Shah's execution of his adopted father and took revenge by killing him.[68]

Afghan sources do not shed any light on what happened to the young Hazara. However, one Hazara source mentioned that after his arrest, he was executed by king Zahir Shah, son of Nadir Shah. Zahir Shah used the most brutal method of torturing this young boy, by first cutting off his fingers, pulling out his tongue and eye balls, cutting off

his ears and nose. After this brutal treatment, he was executed.[69]

Mohammad Zahir Shah, 1933-1973

During the reign of Zahir Shah, the Hazaras and Hazarajat were comparatively calm. At only one time, could the unrest among the Hazaras of Kabul be noted when a plot or alledged plot might have been organized against the prime minister, Sardar Shah Mahmud, who was in power between 1946-1951. Still it must be considered that this unrest manifests itself throughout the entire Shia population of Kabul, consisting not only of Hazaras but also of another element, the Qizilbash.[70] Minor rebellions were also reported during his reign, and details can be found in the Appendix.

Mohammad Daud Khan, 1973-1978

As far as the Hazaras are concerned, nothing of significance happened during Daud's regime. One reason for this neglect was Daud's pre-occupation with exclusive Pashtun causes. Whether it was the development of Pashtun areas or the advancement of their language, Pashtu, or the propagation of the Pashtunistan propaganda, Hazaras were advancing at their own slow pace.

One of the few Hazaras who were able to find a place of importance amongst the Afghans was General Ahmad Ali Khan, a Hazara from Jaghuri. He was the only Hazara who rose to such a high rank in the Afghan army. Due to some conflicts of unknown reasons, he was demoted by Daud from his higher ranks.

Communist Coup, April 1978
President Nur Mohammad Taraki, April 1978-September 1979

Taraki, a staunch enemy of Hazaras and their causes, upon becoming president took immediate action to show his animosity and revenge. In August 1978, he arrested his fellow communist comrade Sultan Ali Keshtmand, a Hazara and a member of the Communist Politburo. He sentenced him to death for plotting against Taraki, but when his communist masters in Moscow ordered him to change his attitude, Keshtmand's sentence was changed to life imprisonment.

The radical policies of Taraki had alienated most of the national

minorities. Minority areas remained centers of rebellion that were as anti-Pashtun as they were anti-Communist.[71] When local Khalq officials, mostly Pashtuns, abruptly introduced reforms, there was yet another minority reaction. These Khalq activities were seen as a new wave of Pashtun interference rather than as an effort to bring deliverance to the toiling masses. By the autumn of 1978, Hazara and Afghan forces were fighting at the Bamian valley. The Hazaras followed the familiar pattern of sealing off roads, thus essentially cutting themselves off from Kabul government.

By March and April 1979, little insurrections spread spontaneously throughout Afghanistan. Anti-government feeling was strongest in non-Pashtun provinces such as Hazarajat, Nuristan, and Badakhshan, where religious and geographical isolation reinforced people's desire for regional autonomy.[72] The Hazaras were among the first groups to revolt against the leftist Kabul government in 1979. In April 1979, residents of Hazarajat revolted and completely eliminated the Kabul government representatives in the province of Bamian, Ghor and Uruzgan.[73] In another instance, on June 23, 1979, a commando force from Hazarajat attacked a military police station in Kabul and caused a considerable amount of damage.[74]

While the world's attention was focused on Pashtun Mujahideen groups' activities on the eastern borders of Afghanistan, the Hazaras were fighting in the central region of the country. In late 1979, the Hazara religious, temporal, and intellectual leaders established the Shura-e Inqelabi-e Ettefaqqe Islami-e Afghanistan (Revolutionary Council of the Islamic Union of Afghanistan) and elected Sayed Ali Beheshti as their president.[75] All the Afghan officials were either killed or expelled and were replaced with chosen local civil officials. A local administration was established. This new administration was called Shura, for short. It had a government hierarchy (with normal working hours and one day off a week), a military arm, and some educational and medical facilities and offices in foreign countries like Iran and Pakistan.[76] Since mid 1979, Hazarajat has been free from Afghan government control; it has a completely independent administration, and includes a functioning judiciary and a rotating draft for resistance fighters. It even maintains the only functioning telephone network remaining outside the major cities.[77]

President Hafizullah Amin
September 1979-December 1979

President Amin followed the anti-Hazara policies, but had little time to fulfill his goals; he was killed and replaced by another communist, Babrak Karmal.

President Babrak Karmal
December 1979-May 1986

When in December 1979, the Soviets installed the Parcham faction of the Communist Party, they also installed Babrak Karmal as the president of Afghanistan. Keshtmand was released from jail and concurrently became the Minister of Planning, Deputy Prime Minister, a Politburo member, Vice-President of the Revolutionary Council and finally in 1981 he became the Prime Minister of Afghanistan.

While Keshtmand was still Vice-President of the Revolutionary Council, a new militia organization, the Revolutionary Guards, under the command of Deputy Prime Minister Assadullah Sarwari, came into existance. In the middle of February 1980, large numbers of Hazaras in Kabul, suspected of instigating anti-Soviet disturbances, were taken into custody by these guards. The Revolutionary Guard members, some wearing gray-green uniforms, were conducting house-to-house searches in the predominantly Hazara neighborhoods of Chandiwal, Wazir Abad, and Qila Shadi. These militia men who had the powers of summary trials and executions, were searching for and killing the Hazaras in front of their houses. The exact number of Hazaras killed by these Afghan forces is not known, but a conservative estimate put the figures at 1,500 dead.[78]

While the Hazaras in Kabul were living under the cloud of terror, their brothers were fighting the Afghans and the Russians in their homeland. Clashes between Bamian rebellious Hazaras and the combined Soviet-Afghan forces also occurred during the last week of January 1981.[79]

There has been virtually no penetration by the Afghan government or Soviet authority into Hazarajat. Soviet-Afghan presence in the Hazarajat region was minimal; this presence consists of two small helicopter-supplied garrisons, consisting of 200 Soviets and 150

Afghans, located adjacent to two provincial capitals, one at Shahr-e Gholghola near Bamian, and the other at Chackcharan. During 1982 and 1983, the Soviet and Afghan armies made little attempt to venture outside their fortified enclaves, and on their part, the Hazaras ignored them. With all the efforts to retake the Hazarajat region by force having failed, the Soviets are now trying to starve the region into submission by cutting off access routes in the area and by occasional bombardments of their villages.[80]

By 1981, the Shura were successful in expelling Soviet and Afghan forces from most of Hazarajat. The Shura took over the local government, dividing the Hazarajat into nine provinces (Wilayat). Governors and mayors were appointed and the majority of the population was disarmed.[81] Thus, once again, after a long time, Hazarajat was a tranquil region without the presence of Afghan officials.

The Soviets tried to use a tribal and ethnic divide-and-conquer policy in Hazarajat and Khad (State Information Service) agents tried to stir up hostilities between Pashtuns and the Hazaras. Available evidence suggests that although the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, urged by the Soviets, had initiated such a policy, by the mid-1980's it had limited effectiveness. One reason was that the Khalq party was still a predominant Pashtun organization and its policies reflected a Pashtun point of view.[82]

The government established in the Hazarajat by the Shura was relatively strong; officials in Kabul were plotting against this government. While the Kabul regime failed in their designs to create ethnic and tribal differences, it seems possible that they were successful, through their Khad agents, in breaking the ranks of Shura. Soon Shura was divided into different factions; however, it remained the strongest Hazara resistance group. By 1983, three other Hazara resistance organizations came into existance, competing with each other. Several times in 1982 and 1983 the rivalry among these groups resulted in fighting. By the end of 1983, the Shura still controlled the most territory and 60 to 65 percent of the population in the Hazarajat.[83]

Besides Shura, in 1983 another Hazara resistance party, Sepah-e Pasdaran (Guardians of the Revolution), came into existence. With the help of another Hazara party, Sazman-e Nasr, they were successful in driving Beheshti, in 1984, from his capital at Waras in Ghor province and in gaining at least temporary control over most of Hazarajat.[84] Nasr party was led by young men educated in Iran,

including some radical Muslim clergy. Its opponents charged it with being infiltrated by the Iranian Communist Party, Tudeh.[85]

Another Hazara resistance party of lesser importance was Ettehad-e Mujahidin-e Islami (Union of Islamic Fighters) led by Maqsoudi with its headquarters in Quetta, Pakistan. Another small party was Hedadia Mujahidin Islam Afghani, under the leadership of an ex-member of Parliament, Wali Beg.[86] Another party was Harakat-e Islami (Islamic Movement) led by Shaikh Mohsini.[87]

While the Pashtun resistance groups were enjoying the financial and military supports from the United States, China, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, the Hazara groups, especially the Nasr and later the Pasdaran, were supported only by Iran.[88] It has been known that the Saudi government, due to her animosity towards the Shias, has specifically prohibited any financial aid to the Hazara resistance movements. None of the Hazara organizations had any use for the Peshawar-based Pashtun resistance organizations and had no affiliation with any of them.[89]

Najibullah Khan, May 15, 1986-

For some time, the Soviets were not satisfied with the non-productive leadership of Babrak Karmal and were seriously looking for a possible replacement candidate. The Soviets apparently cultivated Ofagh and Panjshiri in an attempt to find a future president of their own choice. Other possible candidates included the prime minister, Sultan Ali Keshtmand. But Keshtmand, a Hazara, would not be accepted by Pashtuns and other minorities[90] even though he was the most intelligent and experienced member of the Communist Politburo. The Soviets finally replaced Karmal with another Pashtun, Najibullah, while Keshtmand remained as prime minister.

References

1. Ferrier: 221
2. Price: 127
3. Ibid: 535
4. Elias: 353
5. Elias: 231
6. Babarnama: 250
7. Ibid: 251
8. Schurmann, Mongols: 121
9. Timurkhanov: 27
10. Kakar, Pacification: 2
11. Dupree, Afghanistan: 320-322
12. Kakar, Pacification: 2
13. Wilber: 16
14. Lockhard: 130
15. Harlan: 135
16. Kakar, Pacification: 2-3
17. Gaz. of Afghanistan, 4: 277-278
18. Singh: 99
19. Kakar, Newsletter: 27
20. Harlan: 127-128
21. Elphinstone: 212
22. Sterling: 11; Harlan: 70
23. Ferrier: 220
24. Sykes: 15
25. Harlan: 126
26. Ibid: 128
27. Sykes: 15
28. Broadfoot: 345
29. Gaz of Afghanistan, 4: 278
30. Mohan Lal, 1: 192-193
    Masson, 2: 300, 309
31. Masson, 2: 300, 309
32. Mohan Lal, 1: 192-193
33. Ibid: 1 195
34. Holdich: 93
35. Mohan Lal, 1: 195
36. Masson, 2: 405, 408, 413, 431
37. Mohan Lal, 1: 196
38. Holdich: 282
39. Masson, 2: 403
40. Ibid: 432
41. Ibid: 428
42. Ibid: 453
43. Ibid: 3: 105
44. Howorth, 2: 359
45. Mohan Lal Travels: 91
46. Masson, 2: 310
47. Schurmann: 121
48. Gaz of Afghanistan, 4: 278
49. Secret Letters, 49: 418
50. Kakar, Pacification: 3
51. Ferdinand, Folk: 128
52. Ibid, Folk: 129
53. Kakar, Pacification: 2
54. Wilber: 45:
    Gregorian: 33
55. Imp. Gaz. India, 13: 85
56. Konig: 182
57. Bunbury: 7
58. Gregorian: 196
59. Canfield, Faction & Conversion: 104
60. Kakar, Pacification: 9
61. Gregorian: 255
62. Schurmann: 235
63. Canfield, Faction & Conversion: 104
64. Dianous, 1: 8
65. Fox: 275
66. Canfield, Faction & Conversion: 106
67. Fletcher: 233-234
68. Ibid: 234
69. Hamasa-e Hazara: B
70. Dianous, 1: 89
71. Afghanistan, A Country Study: 272
72. Chaliand: 39
73. Amstutz: 130
74. Chaliand: 40
75. Afghanistan, A Country Study: 272
76. Amstutz: 117
77. Hammond: 64
78. Assoc. Press/Stockton Record Feb. 26, 1980
    Ibid: Feb. 29, 1980
    Newell and Newell: 173
79. Assoc. Press/Stockton Record Feb. 1, 1981
80. Hammond: 64
    Newell and Newell: 102
    Amstutz: 118
81. Afghanistan, A Country Study: 282
82. Ibid: 272
83. Amstutz: 117
84. Afghanistan, A Country Study: 282
85. Amstutz: 117
86. Griffiths, Key to: 197
87. Afghanistan, A Country Study: 282
88. Amstutz: 117
89. Ibid: 118
90. Afghanistan, A Country Study: 265

6

Hazaras War Of Independence

In 1880, after the death of Amir Sher Ali, through the help of the English and Russians, Abdur Rahman became Amir of Afghanistan. It was his desire from the beginning to bring the entire population of Afghanistan under his firm control and to unify the whole country under his flag. He was especially concerned about the large central region within Afghanistan populated by Hazaras who had been independent since their establishment in that region. However, circumstances did not permit him to take full action to realize his dream of occupying the Hazarajat. For the first few years he was bitterly shaken by the opposition from different tribal groups as well as from the members of his own family. He remained engaged for several years with the rebellions of Ghilzais and his cousins, Sardar Mohammad Ishaq in Turkistan and Sardar Mohammad Ayub in Qandahar.

After defeating the Ghilzais and overcoming his cousins Ishaq and Ayub, he directed his attentions toward the Hazaras to subjugate them completely.[1] However, the subjugation and occupation of Hazaras and Hazarajat was not as easy as he thought it would be. As Kakar[2] has stated, of all the tribal opposition to Amir's efforts to extend the

authority of the central government, the opposition of the Hazaras was the greatest. In his own words, Amir confessed that among the four great civil wars that took place during his rule, the Hazara war was the most important, because it not only gave his kingdom power and prestige but also gave it peace and safety.[3] The war between the Hazaras and Amir lasted for three years, and both nations suffered great losses in both property and human lives. They left a bitter memory in the minds of the inhabitants of Afghanistan.

Much of the information for this chapter was obtained from British and Afghan sources which, in some instances, do not agree with each other. It is difficult to describe the Hazara war in its chronological sequence as it was not reported that way by the war newswriters. Due to this fact, Kakar[4] has acknowledged that to give an entirely accurate version of the Hazara war seems impossible. In view of these difficulties whatever information is provided in this chapter will shed enough light to understand the Hazaras' struggle to keep themselves independent.

Several reasons have been presented as the causes of the war. Frohlich[5] maintains that heavy taxes imposed on Hazaras could have been one reason and that they were challenged by Amir in order to unify the Pashtuns who were having disputes among themselves. One such example was the conflict between the Durranis and the Ghilzais.

However, the review of Persian literature and the secret intelligence materials of the British agents, reveals that the actual causes of this war were more than what Frohlich has mentioned. Amir has provided a detailed explanation about the Hazara war. The Persian and British intelligence sources contradict, but, the explanations provided by Amir himself shed enough light on the subject. In this chapter we will examine the available sources to see the reason or reasons behind the Hazara war of independence.

Afghan sources maintain that Hazarajat was always part of historic Afghanistan and that Amir did nothing wrong against the Hazara people except to pacify them. The theory of pacification of the Hazaras recently presented by Kakar[6] is contradicted by several authors who knew more about the Amir's reign. For example, McChesney maintains that government in Kabul has no historical claim on the Hazara region and that it imposed itself on them by brutal force. Therefore, the provocations, deprivations and abuses wrought on the local populations by government forces left them with no alternative but to fight in an attempt to protect their lives and

properties.[7]

Year 1881

During the 1880's when Abdur Rahman was busy crushing the rebellions in different parts of Afghanistan, Hazaras in general were living peacefully. However, a few incidents in which some Hazara tribes participated enhanced the attention of Amir. Important among these incidents was the uprising of Shaikh Ali Hazaras, residing in the northeast corner of Hazarajat, lying between Bamian and Mazar-e Sharif. These tribes were always persecuted by their neighbors and were forced to pay taxes. Not only did they have to pay heavy taxes, but they also had to provide supplies to the Afghan armies when passing through their region. As a consequence, they were forced to take revenge on the Afghans and looted their caravans on several occasions. The first punitive action was taken by Amir in the year 1881, in which several hundred Hazaras were killed by Afghan forces. Their properties were destroyed and a heavy fine of twenty rupees per house was levied. Some of the leading tribesmen were taken to Kabul as hostages.[8]

Year 1882

In 1882, the Hazara tribes of Turkman, Parsa, Mansur, and Bacha Shadi of Shaikh Ali, rebelled against the Afghan Hakim, Mir Ghulam Qadir, due to his excessive repression and heavy taxes. They forced the Afghan officials to a house arrest and successfully checked the incoming supplies to the fortress. Seeing this situation, Amir ordered his forces to march with their cannons along with the people of Kohistan, Ghorband and Pamqan to attack the Hazaras under the command of General Sardar Mohammad Hashim Khan. Large numbers of Hazaras were killed in this battle and a great many people were made prisoners, including their religious leader Sayed Raza. Those who survived the massacre were forced to pay four thousand rupees. Their arms were confiscated.[9]

Year 1883

During 1883, the Hazaras of Shaikh Ali were very angry over the arrest of their religious leaders. Under such conditions, the Afghan

Hakim Abdullah Khan came to their area to collect the taxes. They forced the Hakim to house arrest. When the Hakim of Ghor, Sayed Jaafar, came to know about his incident, he sent his forces to help Abdullah Khan. On receiving such news, Amir ordered the artillery, infantry and cavalry stationed at Mazar-e Sharif to march against the Hazaras. He also ordered the elders of Kahmard, and Hakims of Doab, Shori, and Khinjan to march with their forces at every possible speed to punish these people. The Hazaras fought with great courage and in a short battle defeated the Afghan forces. When Amir got the news of the Afghan's defeat, he ordered the Hakim of Andrab, Siraj-ud-Din, to march along with his forces. He also ordered the royal forces in Dahn-e Ghori to march. General Qatal Kahn, who was stationed in Khan Abad, marched against Hazaras with his Ghazni forces.[10]

In 1883, Amir again sent an expedition against the Hazaras of Shaikh Ali, who had plundered a caravan. He ordered the Governors of Badakhshan and Turkistan to march against these people. These forces along with the forces from Bamian, defeated the Hazaras. Seven of the Hazaras who had plundered the caravan were seized and executed. One musket and one sword per house together with a fine were taken from these people.[11]

During Ishaq's rebellion against Amir, some of the powerful Hazara tribes cooperated with Amir. For example, Amir asked the Mirs of Dai Zangi and Dai Kundi to take all their armed forces, march towards Turkistan and fight against Sardar Ishaq.[12] He ordered them to destroy everything, not to spare anyone from death, and to confiscate their property. A few years before, some of Ishaq's men were making trouble for them, and he was asked to help in punishing them. Amir wrote to the Hazaras that:

> "Now that Ishaq is against me, who is the enemy of our country and religion, and who also considered you as his enemy, do you people still look towards him for friendship and assistance, or towards me and my magnificent army?"

He assured the Hazaras that with their cooperation they would see an end to Ishaq's days. After receiving this message, the Hazaras of these tribes fought against Ishaq until he was defeated.[13]

While Abdur Rahman succeeded in winning the cooperation of Dai Zangi and Dai Kundi tribes against Ishaq, the Hazaras of Shaikh Ali joined the forces of Ishaq and fought against Amir. When Ishaq declared a holy war against Amir, declaring himself the avenger of the

oppressed people, the people of Shaikh Ali supported him overwhelmingly.[14] They fought under the leadership of their religious leaders, Sayed Ali Gohar, Sayed Shah Saeed, and Khair Allah Beg. These were the people who suffered the most in the hands of Amir and joined the forces of Ishaq to take their revenge. However, they, as well as the rest of Ishaq's armies, were defeated by the combined Afghan and Hazara forces.[15]

While the Hazaras of Shaikh Ali were engaged in the north against Amir during the 1880's, some of the Hazaras in the south were also fighting in a small scale rebellion against Amir. Soon after he became Amir, he appointed officials in different parts of the country and in some regions of Hazarajat such as Dai Zangi, Dai Kundi, and Besud. For political reasons he appointed all the officials in these regions who were Afshar and Jawanshiri Qizilbash. However, in Jaghuri an Afghan official was appointed.[16] At the same time, Amir also sent his official with a large army and several batteries of cannon to the Hazaras of Suhbat Khan for submission. The Hazaras, who never saw such a large army in their life, sent their elders to the Hakim of Qandahar and submitted.[17]

Year 1884

In 1884, Sardar Mohammad Hassan, Hakim of Ghazni, on Amir's order, sent a message to the tribes of Pasha, Shirdagh and Qalandar to submit and become loyal subjects. The messengers were followed by cannons and two thousand five hundred cavalry and soldiers, consisting exclusively of tribesmen of Mohammad Khwaja and Jaghatu of Ghazni Hazaras. Amir ordered his men to convince these tribes to submit peacefully, otherwise they were to use their arms to subjugate them forcefully. At the same time, Amir sent a message to Buniad Khan of Malistan asking him to supply his armed men for an expedition against Seh Dasta Hazaras.[18]

The Qalandar tribe, under extreme pressure from the Afghan forces, sent their representatives to the Hakim of Jaghuri and promised to pay the taxes. However, the other two tribes, Shirdagh and Pasha, refused to pay taxes and therefore a force was sent against them and they were forced to pay the taxes.[19]

Year 1886

During 1885, the Hazaras were peaceful, but in the year 1886, the tribes of Pasha and Shirdagh, along with the tribe of Sultan Ali Khan Jaghuri, refused to submit to Amir's officials; Amir ordered the Hakim of Ghazni, Mohammad Hassan Khan, to march to Jaghuri region and force them to submit. He marched toward Jaghuri along with his forces which consisted of Hazaras of Mohammad Khwaja, Jaghatu, and Chahar Dasta. When these forces reached Sang-e Masha, their numbers were increased by the joining of Jaghuri soldiers. These combined forces marched toward Chehil Baghtu and defeated the Hazaras who were forced to take refuge in open mountain passes in extremely cold weather. They agreed to pay taxes and some of the Shirdagh elders were also taken as hostages.[20]

During the same year, Amir ordered the Hakim of Ghazni to collect taxes from the tribe of Malistan. A further message was sent by the Hakim of Qandahar to these people asking them to pay the taxes, otherwise a large force would be sent against them. Their leader, Buniad Khan, upon receiving this message, agreed to pay all the taxes. When Amir came to know about Buniad Khan's acceptance, he asked his official to invite him to Ghazni. Upon his arrival at Ghazni, he was arrested according to Amir's orders. After this, Amir sent some cannons to Jaghuri region so that if the people of Malistan did not pay the taxes they could be punished. He also stationed a large force at Ghazni to enable the Hakim to crush any further disturbances. The Hazaras were forced to pay heavy taxes both in cash and commodities; four of their elders were kept as hostages until the taxes were paid in full.[21]

Year 1887

Since Amir appointed a Hakim in Jaghuri, these people were suffering at the hands of the Afghan official. Like his predecessors in 1887, the Afghan Hakim of Jaghuri, Mirza Ahmad Ali, was taking advantage of his position. He had more lust for women than did the previous Hakims. He not only kept the young Hazara girls in his harem by force, but also married Hazara women. In one case, about fifteen male relatives of a young married woman who was in the Hakim's custody, attacked the Hakim's residence and released the

woman after killing the Hakim and his clerk. They also released the Qalandar Hazara prisoners.[22] Regarding this specific incident, Kakar[23] states that the killing of Afghan officials resulted from the disturbances over the killing of the Hazara elders and the imposition of heavy revenue. Amir sent an investigation team to Sang-e Masha. It found that the Hakim was guilty. Due to this fact, and because Amir was too busy tackling the Ghilzai uprising, he left the matter for some future date.

When the news of the Ghilzai uprising reached the Qalandar Jaghuri, they joined the rebellious forces. When the Hakim of Ghazni came to know about this situation, he asked the elders of Chahar Dasta Jaghuri to prepare their armed men and join the Afghan forces under the command of Ghulam Haider Khan, who was fighting against Ghilzais. Similarly, the son of Buniad Khan, in Ghazni, sent a message to his brother to collect his men from Malistan and Mir Adina, and to help the Chahar Dasta tribe. They were instructed to station in the village of Zardak so that the clans of Pasha and Shirdagh Jaghuri could not join the Qalandar and Ghilzai rebellions. Meanwhile, the tribes of Mohammad Khwaja, Chahar Dasta, and Jaghatu were ordered forward to the region of Loman Jaghuri to watch the enemy's activities.[24]

Year 1888

In the year 1888, the people of Malistan refused to pay their taxes until their leader, Buniad Khan, was released from jail in Ghazni. After receiving further orders from Amir, the Hakim of Jaghuri, Sayed Abdul Ali, marched from Sang-e Masha with his Jaghuri Hazara forces towards Malistan. At Qala Punj Burja, the Afghan forces were surrounded by the Hazaras, led by Buniad Khan's brother and his son. The Afghan forces retreated to the forts of the friendly Hazara elders. From there they asked Amir for further help, and a large force was sent. It defeated the Hazaras and once again forced them to pay the taxes due.[25]

During the same year, when Amir was marching towards Turkistan against Sardar Ishaq, he came face to face with Shaikh Ali Hazaras. They created great troubles for Amir, especially in obtaining supplies for his men and horses.[26] Being fully occupied in the war against Ishaq, he did not take any punitive action against them and, according to Sykes,[27] pardoned them for the time being.

The attitude of southern Hazara tribes towards Amir in the 1880's differed from tribe to tribe. The Ghazni Hazaras, the Chahar Dasta, Jaghatu and Mohammad Khwaja were very sympathetic towards Amir and fully cooperated with him in subjugation of the other Hazara tribes. Pleased with their loyalty, the Amir gave them the titles of Captain in the Qarabaghi infantry.[28] However, these were not the only Hazara tribes who cooperated with Amir. The tribes of Dai Kundi and Dai Zangi also helped in his fight against the rebellious cousins Sardar Ishaq and Sardar Ayub. When Amir was fighting with Ayub, he ordered Sardar Qudus to gather a force of four thousand cavalry from Dai Zangi and Dai Kundi regions. He was, however, unable to collect all the requested men; he faced great resistance among the Hazaras. While still in Hazarajat, Sardar Qudus heard the news that Ayub captured Qandahar and therefore left Hazarajat with a small number of Hazaras under his command.[29] It may, however, be noted that Sardar Qudus' attempt on Herat in 1881 could hardly have been successful but for the support offered by the Dai Zangi and Dai Kundi tribes. He came down from Turkistan to the Dai Zangi country with one or two cavalry regiments, two hundred Khasadars and four mountain guns. Sardar Ayub then was making his second attempt on Qandahar and the province of Herat was almost unguarded. During this critical period, the Mirs of Dai Kundi and Dai Zangi promised supplies and a contingent of one thousand cavalry. Their promises were well kept and Sardar Qudus was able to use the Dai Zangi country as a base of operations and the high road to success he eventually obtained.[30]

The one southern Hazara tribe which opposed Amir during the 1880's was the Jaghuri tribe. This does not, however, apply to the whole tribe of Jaghuri. While one clan of Jaghuri was opposing Amir, the other clan cooperated with him. Many of the Jaghuri opposed Amir and faced him in 1881 while he was marching through their territories towards Qandahar, against Sardar Ayub. They were, however, defeated and several of their leaders were killed.[31] After defeating the Jaghuri, Amir appointed a Hakim over them to collect taxes. The newly-appointed Afghan official of Jaghuri was given great authority and in the coming years he abused his power and made the lives of Hazaras unbearable. For example, in 1883-1884, the official correspondent sent a message to Amir that the Hakim of Jaghuri, Mohammad Sidiq Tokhi, was abusing his power and the Hazara people were asking for some action from Amir. On receiving this

message, instated of punishing his official, he simply replaced him with another official named Pir Mohammad.[32] Another Afghan official creating trouble for the Jaghuri tribe in the region of Sang-e Masha was Mirza Faizullah. Because of his extreme cruelty, the people were abandoning their villages and fleeing along with their families to the mountains of Chehil Baghtu. They took refuge there.[33]

One of the powerful clans of Jaghuri, the Qalandar was under extreme pressure from Amir. They agreed to pay half the taxes, and refused to pay the other half unless their leaders were released from Afghan custody in Kabul. Amir needed the money urgently, so he released their leaders. On their arrival at Sang-e Masha, the Hazaras sent a message to the Hakim of Jaghuri that if the Afghans wanted them to be their subjects and pay the taxes then they would be disappointed. Upon receipt of this message, the Afghan Hakim marched against Qalandar. Meanwhile, the Chahar Dasta tribe who were left in conflict with Qalandar, joined the Afghan forces in large numbers. Upon seeing such a large combined Hazara-Afghan force, the Qalandar decided to play diplomacy and to send a message to the Hakim that if the elder of the Chahar Dasta would come to them and convince them, they would pay the taxes. The Hakim sent the said elder to Qalandar and instead they tried to convince him to join them and thus make a coalition with Ali Khail and Taraki Afghans who were already fighting Amir. Jamshid Khan, the leader of Chahar Dasta and a loyal friend of Amir, escaped the Qalandar camp and told the Hakim about their plan. The combined Afghan-Hazara forces attacked the Qalandar in the middle of the night and captured their fort. Because of the heavy snowfall, the Afghans returned to their camp without punishing the Qalandar.[34]

Amir was anxious to execute the Hazaras who killed the Hakim of Jaghuri, but, while busy crushing the Ghilzai rebellion, he did not want to create trouble among the Hazaras. He sent a consolatory message to the Hazaras of Chahar Dasta for the demand of the convicts. The message read:

> "You people from the beginning of your arrival in Afghanistan till today have been treated by us with every kindness and care. The Afghan people have always hated and despised you; they considered it right to sell and distribute you and your property among themselves. We always stood on your side and protected you, and we still stand on your side. It was due to

> Afghan hatred that you people could not achieve a better social status than domestics or shepherds. You, the Hazara people, have always served the Islamic government, so the elders of Dai Zangi and Dai Kundi on my request, went to Herat and captured that city. Even now, if I order the Hazaras of Dai Kundi, Dai Zangi, Besud, and Hazaras of Ghazni, they will never give you a chance to oppose me. They will crush you. But because I have no ill feelings for you, and because you have never refused to service me, I am not taking any action against you and, therefore, you should not be afraid of retaliation. However, you should dissociate yourself from the few people who killed the Hakim, and send them to General Ghulam Haider Khan in Ghazni. I also wish that you would not join the rebellious Taraki and Ali Khail tribes. I wish that you would not put your whole tribe in trouble and be destroyed because of a few convicts."[35]

Amir had a great scheme against the Hazaras and did not wish to see his scheme fail just because of his official's inappropriate action. He immediately sent a letter to his Hakim in Ghazni, Sardar Mohammad Hassan, and General Ghulam Haider Khan, and advised them to take precautions while dealing with the Hazara of Chahar Dasta. His message, which also clearly reflects Amir's nature and his actual feelings toward the Hazaras, reads:

> "The people of Jaghuri tribe are coming to you. Do not press them and do not cause them any trouble at this time. Just let them hand over the killers of the Afghan Hakim. At this critical time, it is not even wise to get the killers; it will be enough for us to separate this tribe from joining the Taraki and Ali Khail rebels. We must create a division among them, because if the Jaghuri Hazaras do not cooperate with the Ghilzai rebels at this time, they will remain alone and will finally perish. However, if they join the rebels it will be very hard and troublesome to crush them."[36]

Except for Qalandar Jaghuri, none of the Hazaras cooperated with Ghilzais in their rebellion against Amir. They were defeated by combined Afghan forces at Samgar.[37] Amir, through his diplomacy, successfully obtained not only the killers of his Hakim from the Jaghuri people, but also kept them aloof from the Ghilzai rebels. He also instructed the Qizilbash of Kabul to wean the Hazaras from the Ghilzais and to use the friendship of Mulla Yosuf, a Khan of

Qizilbash, who convinced the Hazaras not to enter the war among Afghans.[38] For the Hazaras in general, and for the tribes in the southern Hazarajat in particular, there was no reason to join the Ghilzais in their rebellion. It was a war between two heredity foes--the Ghilzais and the Durranis--and the Hazaras had nothing to do with either of them. In fact, they were the victims of Ghilzai aggression for a long time.

These southern Hazaras had effectively stopped the Ghilazis' expansion towards the north and has suffered severe losses. These were the same Ghilzais who burned the dead bodies of the Hazaras killed in their battles with Ghilzais.[39] The ill feelings towards the Ghilzais forced some of the Hazaras to join Amir in his fight against the Ghilzais.[40] Yet, the Hazaras offered their homes as a refuge for the Ghilzai women and children.[41]

Even though Amir was busy in suppressing the Ghilzais' rebellion, he did not abandon his desire to annex Hazarajat into his kingdom. In 1884 he asked the cooperation of the Mirs of Dai Zangi, Dai Kundi, and Daulat Yar, to build a road from Kabul to Herat, which would pass through their territories, for the convenience of the army and artillery. With the help of their men, they built a road and bridges on the river Helmand and Hari Rud.[42] These bridges proved to be very helpful to the Afghan forces in the years 1891-1893 when an overall Hazara rebellion broke. He further used the friendship of the Dai Zangi's Mirs in persuading the leaders of Hazara of Pas-e Koh to accept the Afghan yoke.

In order to win the cooperation of the Dai Zangi Mirs to fulfill his designs, Amir called them to Kabul and each of them was given the robe of honor. He gave them the royal decrees to be delivered to the most influential leaders like Mir Azim Beg and Kalbi Beg of Seh Pai Dai Zangi, Mulla Ali Sher, Ali Nazar Oqi, Qazi Mohammad Askar, Abdullah, the Mehtar of Daya wa Poladi of Hujristan, the elders of Zaoli, Sultan Ahmad, Uruzgan, Shoi, and Bobash. Following was the content of the message which was carried by Dai Zangi Mirs to their respective destinations:

> "As I, Abdur Rahman, consider you as Muslims and the followers of Quran and the Prophet, I am informing you that Mirs Faizak Beg, Iqbal Beg and Mohammad Raza Beg of Seh Pai, the residents of the mountains which surround the river Helmand on northwestern and southeastern sides, have accepted my sovereignity and became my loyal subjects. I am also asking you to accept my authority and become peaceful subjects. I am sending you the Mirs of Dai Zangi along with my royal decrees. They can offer you their advice and tell you that I considered you as my Muslim brothers, and being Muslims, you should obey the 'Amir of Islam.' Your rejection of my authority, according to the rules of God and His Prophet, is punishable. So in the interest of your own safety and welfare, you should not dare disobey me and give yourself the name of rebles. I do not wish to conquer you by force, as I did with other Hazaras; therefore, I have sent you the Mirs of Dai Zangi, who can tell you how much love and affection I have for you. I hope that your people will use right judgment and accept my authority so that I should not use my force. I hope that you people will join the forces of Islam. I assure you, whatever agreement reached between you and the Mirs will be honored by me. However, if you people do not listen to these Mirs and refuse to accept my authority, you will submit yourselves to the terrible consequences. I warned you that I will never sit peacefully until I make you my subject and extract taxes from you. So it is an opportunity for you people to listen to the Mirs, and to accept the terms mentioned in my letter."[43]

The first tribe who responded to Amir's message was the Poladi of Hujristan, whose leaders, Ali Naqi and Mahtar Abdullah, sent back the following message to Amir through the Mirs of Dai Zangi. The message read:

> "Our brothers and sons were killed by you Afghans, and their blood has been shed on every occasion. Our hearts are bleeding due to the savage cruelty of the Afghans. With these brutalities in view, we will never obey your order, and will never accept the Afghan yoke."[44]

When Amir received such a bitter response, he did not lose his temper; he was waiting for an appropriate time to settle the Hazara question. In the meantime, he was looking for some influential Hazara chief who could help him fulfill his wishes. He had heard about a brave and very courageous Mir of Seh Pai, Dai Zangi, Mir Azim Beg. He had already sent him a message and he was delighted to know that Mir Azim agreed to become his loyal subject. He sent the message to Amir that if he gave him a royal robe and the title of Sardar, he would come to the royal court and offer him his services.[45]

Amir was also busy breaking the Hazaras power by taking sides in the internal disputes of their leaders. Hazara Mirs were notoriously known for their non-cooperation and disunity. When Amir learned that his friend Mir Yosuf Beg of Dai Zangi was in bad terms with the independent Mir Salman Beg of Dai Kundi, he immediately sent a large force to help him. Soon they defeated Mir Salman Beg, who finally accepted the Afghan authority.[46] He also gave robes of honor to the Mirs of Lal wa Sar Jangal. They showed their loyalty by coming to the Afghan court.[47]

When Azim Beg's letter was received by Amir, he was very pleased. This was the man that Amir could use successfully in invading Hazarajat. He was not only the leader of a large section of Dai Zangi, but also well aware of the interior of Hazarajat, and thus could lead the Afghan forces to the yet unknown corners of Hazarajat. The Amir immediately sent the following message:

> "I will forgive your previous disobedience; your future loyalty will be enough to cover your mistakes. You have asked me for the title of Sardar which I shall be glad to give to you, provided you serve me with sincerity. It is my sincere desire that people like you could come to me and offer their services for the glory of our country and religion. In return you will get the best awards and positions. If you people obey me and my orders and become part of my country, then you will live a life of honor and peace. However, if you refuse and raise the standard of rebellion, it is clear that the enemy of our religion [the English and the Russians] will destroy you and your country, the reign of the followers of Islam. Anyway, trust me and have confidence in me. I need your people; whatever they deserve will be honored with all kindness. You have heard a lot about my cruelty, hot temper and savageness. Believe that I am cruel only to the rebels and to the enemies of the nation who considered the division of the nation better than unity. I am also cruel to those people who considered you as infidel, who think it is proper and legal to buy and sell your children. So with full confidence, go to Mir Yosuf Beg, show your loyalty and offer your services to me. Upon receipt of such news from the above Mir, I will send you the royal robe and from then onward you can serve my interest."[48]

After this brief exchange of messages, Amir sent the Mirs of Dai Zangi, along with Jan Mohammad Khan, Hakim of Dai Zangi, to Mir

Azim Beg. At Kotal-e Charkh, near Seh Pai, Dai Zangi region, an agreement of loyalty and submission was signed by Mir Azim Beg. He was declared with the title of Sardar, and a large sum of money was given to him.[49]

The proclamation of Mir Azim Beg by Amir created a bitterness among the Mirs of Dai Zangi, who considered themselves more qualified for the title of Sardar than him. Two of them, Mir Faizak Beg and Mir Raza Beg Ilqani, came forward and opposed Amir openly. They were, however, arrested and Amir thus put an end to Azim's opposition.[50]

September 3, 1889

Amir had punished the Shaikh Ali Hazaras by uprooting them en masse from their country. He crushed the rebellions of the tribes of Andari, Taraki, Ali Khail, Mangal, Shinwari, Lanqon, Noor Mohammad Khan and Sardar Ishaq, and with little fear from domestic enemies, he diverted his full attention to the affairs of Hazarajat. It was the appropriate time for Amir to accomplish his desire of capturing the Hazarajat, the idea which he put aside because of his engagements with other pressing problems facing his authority. He took different steps before initiating his invasion of Hazarajat. As Afghans had never entered Hazarajat in the past and did not have any knowledge about its valleys and mountain passes, it was suicidal for them to attack Hazarajat. Amir, therefore, decided to send some spies to find out about the geography, the villages, the passes, the towns and their population. He could not send the Afghans as he was sure they would be killed, so he selected the Qizilbash. They not only spoke the language but were the co-religionists of the Hazaras. On September 3, 1889, Amir ordered the Hakims of Ghazni, Qandahar, Pusht-e Rud, Saighan and Kahmard, which surrounded Hazarajat from the north, south, east and west, to get ready for the occupation of Hazarajat and sent two of the most clever and intelligent men for a spying job. They were told that they should take notes of the total mileage that the army has to travel, the problems and difficulties they might face on their way, the villages and their populations, and the widths and heights of the roads. After checking every detail, they should report to Amir in Mazar-e Sharif. After gathering all this information, Amir would decide the route and number of forces to be sent for Hazarajat's occupation. Through the help of Qandahar's governor, Sardar Noor Mohammad, he selected two well-known

Qizilbash, Sayed Shah Najaf and Mohammad Khan. They were sent to Hazarajat to collect the intelligence data. These two persons were involved in trading with the Hazaras and in order not to raise any suspicion, they took a load of merchandise and started towards Hazarajat.[51]

September 21, 1889

After his defeat, Sardar Ishaq fled to Samarqand. Amir got full control over Turkistan and diverted his attention to the Shaikh Ali Hazaras. He demanded that they pay a fine of fifty thousand rupees along with a large number of cattle as a result of their participation and cooperation with Ishaq. Unable to pay such a large sum, they were ordered to be removed en masse from their country and dispersed throughout Afghanistan.[52] On September 21, 1889, Colonel Farhad Khan reached the Hazaras of Shaikh Ali to carry out Amir's orders. The Hazaras refused to leave their homes and villages and consequently Farhad Khan had to use force to evacuate their homes and villages. He also confiscated several thousand sheep and goats. He made the Hazara prisoners and took them to Kabul.[53] Many of these Hazaras were removed to remote places as far as Qalat, Herat, and Bala Murghab.[54]

During these skirmishes, the Hazaras captured the Hakim of Khinjan, Mohammad Sarwar Khan, and released him with the condition that he take a message to Amir. The message was to explain to Amir the reason for their revolt against him: was his imposition of fines of one lac rupees and their inability to pay such huge fines.

September 25-October 19, 1889

On September 25, 1889, the Afghan forces stationed in Shaikh Ali's territory became stronger with the fresh arrival of forces from Andrab. On October 19, 1889, the Afghan forces fought with Hazaras and finally subjugated them. Large numbers of Hazaras were killed and captured during these skirmishes. Large camps of Afghan soldiers were stationed in the area to keep the Hazaras under control.[55]

August 1890

The second step that Amir took for invading Hazarajat was to appoint his trusted man, Sardar Abdul Qudus, as governor of Bamian. At the end of August 1890, Sardar Abdul Qudus, along with his forces

and batteries of cannon, reached Bamian where he stationed his forces in order to start his mission of capturing Hazarajat. His purpose of staying in Bamian was to establish and build a contonment for Amir's forces to be used later in conquering Hazarajat.[56] Now that the Hazaras of Shaikh Ali were completely supressed, the army stationed in the towns of Talah and Do-Ab were ordered by Amir to join Sardar Abdul Qudus in his campaign to capture Hazarajat.[57]

War Plan

After taking these necessary steps, the following war plan was arranged and was formulated by Sardar Abdul Qudus. The plan consisted of the following points:

1. The fodder and food provisions for the army should be collected and stored at Waras in Dai Zangi. These provisions should include wheat, barley, flour, butter and lambs. It was also decided that instead of cash, the taxes from the friendly Hazara tribes be collected in commodities and make facilities for their storage.
2. The army should follow the two routes which go to the interior of independent Hazara regions [Yaghistan]. One route follows north to south via the region of Seh Pai Dai Zangi and Polada and enters the Zaoli region from there to Uruzgan. The other route travels from the northwest to the southeast crossing the Helmand River and then enters Uruzgan. And after receiving Amir's order, the Hazara cavalry of Dai Zangi and Dai Kundi tribes which were stationed at Ghizab numbering five thousand will march toward Uruzgan.
3. Colonel Farhad Khan and Colonel Mohammad Ullah, who were stationed at Jarghi along with a large force of infantry, were ordered not to enter Hazarajat until Sardar Qudus along with his magnificent army entered Uruzgan via Ghizab. At that time, the Hujristan should be occupied either through peaceful means or through the use of force. Once it is occupied, all the forts and the houses be burned and their arms should be confiscated. As a precaution, the general massacre of the Hazaras should be delayed until the final news of the victory of Sardar Abdul Qudus and his forces. The army should wait on the northern side of the mountains which separate Uruzgan from Zaoli, and should not enter Uruzgan unless the forces stationed at Ghizab reach the borders or

enter Uruzgan. After completion of that task, they should march towards Uruzgan from the north and west, and perform their duties of Hazara massacre under the instructions of Sardar Abdul Qudus.

4. The Besud Hazaras will march towards Hujristan and the Ghazni Hazaras stationed at Malistan will help the Besudi forces. The forces stationed at Tirin will march from the south to Ghizab and will help the combined Afghan forces. In case the independent Hazara tribes interfere with these forces, they [the Tirin Forces] were at full liberty to use force.
5. The cavalry and infantry of Dai Zangi and Dai Kundi, fully armed, will join the Afghans, and on Amir's order will march from Ghizab towards Uruzgan. It was also decided that before the start of the war, the Hazara infantry prepare the roads and procure the fodder.[58]

On one hand, the war plan was fully prepared, and on the other hand, Amir called Mir Azim Beg to Kabul. He was given messages to be delivered to the eleven independent Hazara tribes who had not yet accepted the Afghan yoke. Among these were Basi, Panj Pai, Mir Adina, Zaoli, Uruzgan, Bobash, Dai Chopan, Zardak, Qalandar, Pasha, and Shirdagh. The content of these messages delivered by Mir Azim Beg was the same, which says that:

> "I [Amir] have received Mir Azim Beg who has received great honor and the title of Sardar. It is necessary for me to tell you that I treat all the inhabitants of Afghanistan, whether Afghans, Hazaras, Qizilbash, Tajiks, or Hindus, with the same kindness; I considered their welfare my prime responsibility. I considered the Hazaras and Afghans the same, as both are the followers of the same Qaaba [Mecca] and the same Prophet [Mohammad]. Like Afghans, I also considered you as my friends, my nation, and therefore my subject. I considered it a duty to God and His Prophet to work for your prosperity. I collect the taxes from you which are the property of God and his Prophet; I am keeping them in Bait al-Mal [the royal treasury], to be spent on the glory of the country and perpetuation of Islam. At the same time, let me inform you that no king or Sultan can tolerate within his kingdom a small number of people who will raise the standard of rebellion, and the king will not crush such rebellion. As far as I am concerned, I will convince you with politeness and offer you my advice to obey and become the loyal subjects. However, if you people do not listen to me, then I will use all my power and resources to crush your resistance from all sides, and bring you under my control. Do not be mistaken; never think that you have heard such threats from my ancestors, which have never been accomplished. I seriously mean whatever I have said. Now it is up to you to come to me and offer your submission so that I should not send my forces against you. I have asked Sardar Azim Beg to explain the whole situation to you, and to make you agree on your submission. At the same time, I am also stationing the Afghan forces around you to be ready for action and to watch your activities. Now it is up to you to become part of the nation and the followers of Islam. Whatever you decide, you will always find me ready for it."[59]

At the same time, Amir also sent his loyal friend, Jamshid Khan Jaghuri, to the tribes of Uruzgan, Shoi, Bobash, Qalandar, Pasha, and Shirdagh. He met the elders of these tribes and somehow convinced them not to oppose Amir and to pay the taxes. They also agreed that Amir should send an infantry and a cavalry consisting of Qizilbash, Hazaras of Mohammad Khwaja and Chahar Dasta Jaghuri to collect the taxes. It was also agreed upon under an oath that until these forces entered their country, the agreement shall be kept in secret so that those who oppose such an agreement may not cause disturbances and prohibit the people from accepting Amir's authority.[60]

Contrary to the Afghan sources, the Hazaras have their side of this story which contradicts the above report. According to one Uruzgan chief, the agreement reached between Amir and the Hazara tribes on several important conditions. They agreed to accept Amir's authority who would build a fort in Uruzgan, and that they would maintain their internal autonomy and not pay taxes for the next several years.[61] In response to Amir's letter to the Hazara chiefs through Mir Azim, the Hazaras of Wasi Mohammad, Burchaghi and Jarghi (tribes living between Besud and Hujristan), sent their eight elders through the Mirs of Besud to Mohammad Nabi Khan, Hakim of Besud, to accept the Afghan yoke. Seeing such an act, the tribe of Daya also sent their elders for submission. However, the tribes of Uruzgan, Polada of Hujristan, Zaoli, Sultan Ahmad, Dai Chopan, Shoi, Bobash, Seh Pai Dai Zangi had not responded to Amir's letter.[62]

Amir was disappointed that not all the independent Hazara tribes accepted his authority. Before he took final action, there was a continuous exchange of messages and envoys. Amir sent a strong worded letter to forty-five Hazara tribes with the message:

"I, the Amir, am writing this letter so that you can judge the situation. First of all, at this critical moment when Afghanistan is under pressure from the Christian nations, I have no choice but to eradicate the name of rebellion and armed opposition from the country. The previous rulers of Afghanistan had never tried to subject you people and to crush your stubborness and opposition. The fact that they never bothered to suppress you was because they had no anxiety from external and internal enemies, nor from the rulers of the neighboring countries. But now that the Christian nations are standing on our borders, it has caused us great anxiety. It does not seem proper to hear the rebellion of people living within the country. Your rebellion will give the neighbors a chance to say that a nation living in the center and surrounded from all sides by the Afghans, could not be overcome if they could not subjugate them. How could Amir and his Afghan nation face the powerful kings and their powerful armies? Thus, on this basis, England and Russia will propagate the weakness and impotency of Amir and the Afghan nation, creating a bad name for the Afghans and their future generations.

Therefore, being responsible for the welfare of all the Muslims, the first thing that I desire is that all Muslims should obey the laws of God and His Prophet and if someone disobeys them, then it is my duty to advise them. And if they do not listen to me, then according to the Quranic Laws, I have to investigate the matter. Otherwise, I will be responsible to God for not taking action. I, therefore, write you and warn you that you will feel sorry for your own destruction. I wish that you also receive honor in the royal court; some of you have already been honored for loyalty. I do not want to see you wretched, and distressed and ashamed before God and His Prophet. So, for your own well being, I am asking you not to follow Satan, who is always against the right path and creates doubts and suspicions in your hearts. You people should come to your senses and not be carried away by your cardinal desires. Instead, follow the path of God and disobey

Satan. Otherwise, following him will destroy your present and the future. And if after all this advice, you still do not listen to me, then I have the power and the cooperation of hundreds of thousands of Muslims under my command. I have all the arms and ammunitions to destroy the enemies of the religion of Mohammad and God. I, once again, urge you that for God's sake do not be foolish; come to Sardar Qudus and accept the Afghan authority. Do not let me settle this affair by use of force. And if you do not listen to my advice, then I warn you that the people of Afghanistan, rather than the whole nation of Islam, will order the destruction of you people. You can gather your Mullas, open the Quran and see for yourself how harsh punishment has been prescribed to the rebels. And because you and I both are believers of the same God and His Books, you should not think of rebellion. And if you still want to rebel, then you will suffer beyond your imagination for not following the path of Mohammad. I wish and pray to God that He may show you the right path and that you can distinguish between good and evil."[63]

August 29, 1890

Amir dispatched fourteen messages regarding his plan of invasion of Hazarajat to the Afghan chiefs and Hakims of the surrounding regions like Ghazni, Muqur, Qalat, Wardak, Farah, Pusht-e Rud, Sardar Qudus, Mohammad Khwaja tribe, Qalandar, Tirin, Khak Rez, and Ghorat. The message read:

"In spite of all the peaceful means, I have sent the forty-five messages on August 29, 1890, to the people of Hujristan, Zaoli, and Uruzgan, who have not yet accepted the Afghan yoke. I have told them, for the last time, of my intention about the affairs of Hazarajat; that they should leave the thoughts of rebellion and become loyal subjects. I have distributed the copies of my message throughout their regions, so that everyone involved could read it. If they do not submit, they will be destroyed. As the supression of the rebels is a duty of the people of Afghanistan, regardless of whether Hazaras or Afghans, it is mandatory for them to cooperate with both regular and non-regular forces or they will be punished."[64]

Amir also sent messages to the Hakims and chiefs of Jaldak,

Dahla, Kajwar, Dahrawad, Tirin, Baghni Baghran, and the nomads of Qandahar, which read:

"The people of Afghanistan, surrounding the Hazara rebels, are being ordered to take their arms and march towards Hazarajat in order to punish these evil-charactered people. The purpose of the march is that when they see such a large force, they will not oppose us; they will accept the messages already sent to them. You are also directed to march under the command of Sardar Qudus, and to follow his direction."[65]

After receiving the messages from Amir, the Hazaras of each tribe called their assemblies where the pros and cons of acceptance of Afghan authority was discussed. Some were opposed to such an idea, and argued that being free people, they should not pay taxes to the Afghan people. The others, who knew the Afghans, were asking their tribesmen if they knew with whom they were dealing. One of the chiefs said, "You are dealing with an enemy who destroyed half of the villages around Jalalabad, and who made a tower of Shinwaris' head."[66] He further warned his tribesmen:

"Times have changed. Customs, manners, weapons and warfare have changed everywhere, except with us. The Afghans have allied themselves with the Kafirs, the white government of Hindustan. These Kafirs have given them weapons, cannons, and money. One-third of our nation will be bought over, one third will be killed, and the remainder will be fugitives or slaves. I see it all! But I will face it--face it to the end. I will not pay tribute."[67]

The Hazaras, however, did not start an armed struggle, but sent their envoys to Kabul to get some concessions. Amir granted the Hazara envoys several public interviews; at the end he came to his final decision. He told the Hazara envoys:

"The Hazaras were excellent, useful, and hardworking people whose value he appreciated and whom he was most desirous of having as friends; but they were aliens, and therein, no doubt, lay the casus belli. They had been planted in Ghaur, part of the territory proper of Afghanistan, by aliens, who had retreated into the regions from which they had sprung. These cuckoos [the Hazaras] were left behind. There they had lived and multiplied, in the land of the Afghans, without even owning allegiance to the prince whose territory they occupied. Other aliens, taking advantage of the disjoined

condition in which the country had been for centuries, did the same thing. The Hazaras were by no means the only defenders, nor were they serious offenders. This state of affairs had been proven disadvantageous to the cuckoos as well as to the hedge-sparrows [the Afghans]. So he [the Amir], with leisure to devote to this important question, reviewed the whole matter in his mind, and decided that an alteration must be made. For the future there was to be but one ruling sovereign in the country of Afghanistan, one capital and the seat of government, one military center, and in consequence, of course, one royal treasury. The cuckoos were, however, to be allowed to retain nests in which they had established themselves so long ago [provided, of course, they proved themselves loyal subjects to the lawful owners and therefore worthy of consideration shown to them]. They would now be required to pay rent, in the form of taxes, for the land and houses which they occupied. Nothing could be fairer. These taxes, moreover, would be used for their own benefit to make roads through their own country, and to support an army and police for their own protection."[68]

Seeing no success with Amir, the Hazara elders went to see his chief secretary and asked his help to convince Amir for some favorable agreement. The chief secretary who, because of this loyalty to his Amir, could not even afford a symbolic gesture, addressed the Hazaras:

"Persuade your people that it is to their advantage to pay these taxes; you have no roads throughout your whole country, and you have mere sheep tracks along which your altogether insignificant trade is carried on. You have no army, no guns, no money, to protect yourself from foreign invaders. Amir wishes to see you strong. He wishes you to have an army, and will give you guns, possibly money, to make whatever is necessary for your protection. Amir does not covet your hills; he does not wish to interfere with you in any way. He wishes to have his soldiers in your country to protect you from the two great Kafir nations [England and Russia] who are advancing step by step. He cannot afford to leave you unprotected, because once he allows either of these two nations among your hills, he will never be able to dislodge them. On the contrary, they would be able to

dislodge him; they must never arrive. As long as you call yourselves free, there is nothing to prevent them from walking into your country and incorporating it with their own. If, however, you were once incorporated with Afghanistan, the treaties that protect this country would also protect you. For you to be recognized as Afghan subjects, you must conform to Afghan laws and be placed on the same footing as the other Afghan tribesmen, none of whom are exempt from taxation. For the Hazaras there are but two alternatives: peace with taxation or war, which will make the few survivors fugitives or slaves."[69]

In order to persuade the Hazara chiefs for submission, besides his threats and warnings, Amir also used bribes and promises of government positions. He instructed the chief secretary to convince the Hazaras. On one occasion, the chief secretary addressed the Hazara delegation:

"Any of the people who are willing to submit will find a hospitable asylum in Cabul in the event of a war. When that war is over, their land, or whatever property they may have been obliged to leave behind, will be restored to them. But if Amir can find a Hazara with sufficient understanding and shrewdness to foretell the results of such a war as will assuredly be directed against this unfortunate nation should it prove refractory, should that Hazara, from a fine spirit of patriotism, save the lives of the poor mislead peasants and mountaineers by helping him [Amir] to put his finger on the Mullas and other leaders of the rebels, that man will be exalted to a rank and receive such rewards as his wildest aspirations had never led him to hope for. He might be made governor, which will be practically chief of his own country."[70]

When the Hazara delegation heard that Amir had a doubt about their seriousness and that he expected one of them to desert his nation, they informed the chief secretary about their unanimous decision. They told Amir:

"You mean, should a Hazara be found mean enough and vile enough to save his own skin and property by betraying his countrymen, then his very lowness and poverty of pride and spirit would be his fortune--that is what you mean. There are such men in the country of the Hazaras. Bribes will do much. I doubt not that you will find traitors without difficulty."[71]

These elders knew that there were many Hazara chiefs who would surrender to Amir in order to obtain such high positions. The affairs of the coming months and years will show that Amir's bribes bought some of the most influential Hazara chiefs who helped him to win the war so easily. Finding the Hazara delegation unreceptive, Amir tried the last resort--their religion. He knew that the Hazaras were fanatic about their religion and any imaginative threat to their religious belief might soften their uncompromised attitude. He instructed his secretary to convince the Hazaras by manipulating their religion. The secretary responded:

"When you have realized that its a mere question of submitting to a really trivial taxation imposed by a Mohammadan prince, or being ruled by Kafirs who send your children to mission schools, insult your women, and teach your young men to drink spirits, then I think you may change your mind and consider: the man who helps to save his country from such calamities is a patriot and not a traitor."[72]

When the Hazara saw that Amir was determined to conquer their land and make them his subjects, they returned to their country. According to one sourse, about nine Hazara chiefs[73] and, according to another source, about three dozen chiefs,[74] got together and put their seals on the following letter and sent it to Amir:

"If you Afghans are proud of the support of a temporal Amir, we are prouder still of the support of our spiritual Amir [Ali], the Master of the Sword, Zulfiqar. And why did ye Afghan officials mention four governments in your letter as being your neighbors? Why did you not say five government were your neighbors, so as to include ours? We advise you, for your own good and safety: that ye keep away from us."[75]

A different version of the same letter has been reported by the official Afghan historian, Faiz Mohammad, which reads:

"With the help of Panj-Tan [the family of Prophet Mohammad], we people consider ourselves the fifth neighboring country, and with the help of Shah-e Aowlia [Ali], we will tell the people of the world that we will not obey the orders of the Amir of the Afghans."[76]

Spring 1891

On seeing this letter, Amir ordered the arrest of these elders,[77] and ordered Sardar Qudus to march with a force from Bamian towards

Hazarajat. He also ordered General Sher Mohammad to march from Kabul, and Brigadier Zabardast Khan to march from Herat towards Hazarajat.[78] The spies who were sent into the interior of Hazarajat had already returned safely with valuable information. Amir ordered these men to report immediately to Sardar Qudus, to inform him of every detail, and to serve him as guides.[79]

April 2-5, 1891

When the news of the uprising in Uruzgan reached Amir on April 2, 1891, he ordered his one hundred cavalry soldiers stationed at Moqur to march to Malistan and help Commander Abdus Samad crush the uprising. He also sent seperate orders to the tribes of Wardak, Andari, Taraki, Ali Khail, Hotaki Afghans, and to Mohammad Khwaja, Jaghatu, Chahar Dasta, Jaghuri, Malistan, and Besud Hazara tribes and the Tajiks of Ghazni to march with their forces towards Uruzgan via Sar-e Ab and Malistan and to crush the uprising. He also ordered the Panjshiri infantry stationed at Muqur along with two hundred cavalry, to march to Uruzgan via Jaghuri and meet Colonel Farhad at Sang-e Masha. On April 5, 1891, he sent orders to his commander-in-chief, Ghulam Haider, who was stationed at Mazar-e Sharif, to march with his forces and the batteries of cannon towards Uruzgan, and to take the shortest route: Yak Aolang. He also sent messages to the Mirs of Dai Kundi, Dai Zangi, Lal-wa Sar Jangal, to provide his commander-in-chief with all the fodder and supplies he needed, and to provide their armed men while he passed through their respective regions. During this period, the Hazaras of Mir Adina raised their arms, but soon they were defeated by the Afghan forces stationed in Malistan, who killed many of them and destroyed their villages.[80]

The workshops in Kabul, which Amir had set up for the manufacture of munitions in 1887, were therefore ordered to work twenty-four hours a day. In 1891 alone, these workshops produced, among other things, ten breech-loading rifles and one artillery gun a day.[81]

In response to Amir's request, the nomads, Ghilzai and Mohmand, anxious and hoping to capture the Hazara pasture lands, joined Amir. They sent four hundred camels to be used in transporting war materials to Hazarajat. The nomads also volunteered their 2,222 armed men as their participation in the war against the Hazaras; they marched towards Hazarajat.[82]

On receiving the orders from Amir, the Hakim of Herat, Qazi

Saad-ud-Din, and his commander, Faramurz Khan, marched with fifteen hundred cavalry and infantry, and batteries of cannon, towards Hazarajat. Sardar Qudus, on the other hand, reached the Besud area. Commander Abdus Samad who led the Behloli and Dai Zangi tribes, marched towards Uruzgan and later joined Colonel Farhad Khan and other Afghan officials. They entered the Hujristan. Seeing such a large Afghan force, the people of Hujristan sent their delegation to Sardar Qudus and offered their submission. After peaceful occupation of Hujristan, Sardar Qudus stationed part of the forces and cannons in the area under the command of Colonel Mohammad Ullah. He sent Colonel Farhad with his forces to crush the tribes of Mir Adina, Zaoli, and Sultan Ahmad. Colonel Farhad, along with the Hazara Mirs and the Mala Khail nomads, attacked the Hazaras of Mir Adina. After a brief skirmish, they defeated them. The Hazaras fled and took refuge in the Qala Char Burja located in the Zaoli region. The Afghan forces followed them and finally were forced to submit.[83]

On his march towards Uruzgan, Colonel Farhad reached the region of Sultan Ahmad, arresting about fifty-three Hazara elders of Zardak, Pasha, and Shirdagh tribes. Killing some of them and sending the rest to Kabul, he then marched towards Uruzgan. When Sardar Qudus heard of the unopposed victory over Zaoli and Sultan Ahmad tribes, he stationed about one thousand Dai Zangi soldiers with two batteries of cannon along the banks of the Helmand near Tamzan, to keep an eye on the Dai Kundi tribe and not allow them to cross the river and enter the Uruzgan region.[84] During his stay at Tamzan, Sardar Qudus welcomed the Herati forces which reached that place under their commander Brigadier Zabardast Khan. Meanwhile, the rebellious Hazaras were coming every day in groups to offer their submission. When Sardar Qudus saw that the majority of the independent Hazaras had come to him for submission, he ordered his soldiers to confiscate their arms and ammunitions, and to keep them in the government's custody. The Hazaras were told that their arms would be returned after peace returned to the region and after they received instructions from Amir.[85]

August 11, 1891

On Amir's orders, Brigadier Zabardast Khan, with regular and irregular forces and batteries of cannon, reached Uruzgan. After a great loss on both sides, he captured the fort and arrested about two hundred fifty men. In the village of Qashwang, located in the Sar Band

area of Mir Adina region, the combined Hazara-Afghan forces attacked the Zaoli people during the night of August 11, 1891. The Hazaras fought for the whole night and the next day and, after a loss of great many men on both sides, the Hazaras were forced to withdraw to the banks of Nava-e Chaqmaq and to the region of Zaoli.[86]

August 14, 1891

The confiscation of their arms made the Hazaras furious and Amir had to explain to them the reason behind his action. He wrote them a letter on August 14, 1891:

> "You people showed your sincerity and came to Sardar Qudus to accept my authority. Before your arrival, I had instructed Sardar Qudus to collect your arms and to be kept in custody. As for your swords, daggers, and knives, they will not be collected; you may keep them. If your rifles are not collected, it will become necessary for me to leave behind a large number of armed soldiers as the government forces advance. I do not wish to create trouble for you people for stationing such a large force in your villages. With your comfort in mind, I have ordered that your arms be collected and held in a safe place, which will be returned to you when you are settled in your region. It will be a test of your friendship and sincerity to surrender your arms. As you are now my friends, there is no reason for me not to return your arms. If you do not surrender your arms, then it will create doubt in my mind about your friendship; believe me, there should be no room for doubts and suspicion in government affairs. So, do not be alarmed about the collection of arms. They will be returned to you and be comfortable and remain peaceful."[87]

August 15, 1891

On Amir's orders, further Afghan forces marched towards Hazarajat. On August 15, 1891, Mirza Mohammad Yosuf Ghaznavi led his combined forces of Hazara, Wardak, Khokiani, towards Hazarajat. Mohammad Haider Herati, stationed at Khost, led his Herati and Uzbek forces and marched towards Hazarajat.

August 30, 1891

When the Hazara tribes of Daya and Polada heard of the uprising

of Uruzgan, they took up arms against the Afghans. Colonel Mohammad Ullah marched against them with his cavalry and infantry forces and batteries of cannon. After a fierce battle, the Afghans were defeated, withdrew and took refuge inside the fort. The Hazaras seized the fort and made it impossible for the Afghans to end the seige. Receiving such news, General Sher Mohammad, with the help of Mohammad Nabi, Hakim of Besud, and his Besudi-Hazara forces, reached Frakh Alom. On August 30-31, 1891, a bloody battle took place. After killing a great many Hazaras, they finally released the beseiged Afghan forces. Besides the Hazaras, large numbers of Afghans were also killed. After a general Hazara massacre, their forts throughout Hujristan were set afire and the whole region was cleared of rebels.[88]

August 31, 1891

Mohammad Sarwar, Hakim of Khinjan, marched with his forces from Andarab. By the middle of August 1891, a force of 100,000 armed tribesmen, 40 battalions of royal infantry and cavalry, and 100 cannons were ready. During the same month, twelve modern cannons were brought from England and reached the seaport of Karachi. When all the preparations were completed, Amir ordered these forces to attack Hazarajat from all sides. The tribes of Taraki and Ali Khail, who were located along the eastern borders of Qalandar, were the first to attack the Hazaras. They fought for three days in the village of Aicha and a great many Afghans were killed. The Afghans were about to be defeated when Colonel Farhad, along with his great force, came to their rescue. The Hazaras were finally defeated and the Afghans entered the Qalandar region triumphantly.[89]

When the Hazaras of the regions surrounding the Zaoli tribe, heard the news of their defeat at Murwarid Kotal, they came to Sardar Qudus and accepted Amir's authority. Sardar Qudus left a small number of armed personnel in the occupied villages. He, himself, marched towards Uruzgan via Ghizab and sent a message to the Hakim of Qandahar about the occupation of Hazarajat. On receipt of this news, the Hakim fired twenty-one guns as a victory celebration.[90]

September 1891

In September 1891, Amir finally drew his plan for the attack on Hazarajat. He ordered a combined force of 100,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and 100 batteries of cannon to be organized. To form such a

massive force, he ordered 10,000 men from Qandahar, 10,000 men from Pusht-e Rud and Farah, 10,000 men from Herat, 10,000 men from Balkh, 3000 men from Qataghan, 10,000 men from Badakhshan, and 10,000 men from the suburbs of Kabul, and 3,000 men from Maimana, to form this force. With the help of such a force, the Hazaras would be punished to such an extent that it would become an historical event.[91]

At this time, Sardar Abdul Qudus dispatched his forces towards Uruzgan from different directions. He ordered Miran Shah to proceed to Uruzgan via Kimsan, and Sardar Mohammad Anwar via Chinar Tu. Afterward, he marched towards Uruzgan via Qol Khar.[92]

September 5, 1891

On receipt of Amir's orders to the various tribes of Afghanistan for volunteers, the Durranis of Qandahar sent only 500 men. The Achakzais and Durranis strongly objected to Amir's orders, by compelling them to fight against the Hazaras.[93] When Sardar Qudus informed Amir about the noncooperation of these tribes, Amir was very disappointed, and on September 5, 1891, sent the following message to the elders of Durranis:

> "The complaints made by Sardar Qudus about them is right. You Durranis are 100,000 families strong. Out of such a large number, you only sent 500 men to Hazarajat expedition, while the rest of you stayed behind. If you were men and had the Afghan pride, you should have sent one man out of every two families, you would have raised an army of 50,000 brave men, crushed the Hazara rebellion, and eradicated them from the soil of Afghanistan. It is my wish to give you Durranis the property and lands of the Hazaras: to make you the master of their land. You should have noticed that the English are encroaching and have captured the village of Chaman, the land of Achakzai Durranis, and made tunnels in the Kojak Mountains. But alas, you people do not understand your profit or loss!"[94]

In another report, it is said that the Durranis inhabiting the neighborhood of Qandahar had been asked to supply 12,000 families for settlement in Uruzgan; if they would not comply willingly, compulsion would be used. The Durrani nomads were already fleeing to the Registan area to evade this order.[95]

As time passed, the rebellion spread among the surrounding

Hazara tribes and every day more and more tribes raised their arms against the Afghans. Seeing this situation, Amir issued the following orders and distributed them throughout the country. He directed his officials to post these orders in the main bazar of each town and village:

> "The Kafir Hazaras of Daya, Polada, Zaoli, Sultan Ahmad and of Uruzgan have declared the Muslims [the Afghans] as Kafirs. Now the Amir would like to crush these Kafirs so that even their sign should not be left in those mountains. Their lands and properties should be distributed among the Ghilzais and the Durranis. I therefore, order all the royal and tribal forces from all sides, to attack the rebels' land and not spare a single life. Futhermore, all the livings Hazaras should be made prisoners and be distributed as slaves among the Afghans."[96]

September 16-21, 1891

Sardar Faqir Mohammad and his massive forces faced the Hazaras of Bobash and Dai Chopan and were defeated on September 16, 1891. On September 21, 1891, the Hazaras of Chora were attacked and defeated by the tribal forces of Popalzai.[97]

When Sardar Abdul Qudus reached the village of Shoi in Dai Chopan, he ordered Colonel Farhad Khan to enter Uruzgan via Hazar Buz and Dara-e Bobash. While still in Shoi, he heard of the uprising of Poladi and Daya Hazaras of Hujristan. The cause of their uprising was an Afghan official, Colonel Mohammad Ullah, who prosecuted the Hazaras and whose cruelty reached beyond the Hazaras' control. They attacked him and his forces and were seiged for several days. Seeing this, Sardar Qudus and Colonel Farhad, along with the tribal forces of Andar, Wardak, Tajik, and the Hazaras of Ghazni, attacked the Hujristan Hazaras during the night. Many Hazaras were killed in this battle.[98]

The Hazaras of the Koh-e Baba region were, so far, not involved in the uprising of the south. However, when the Amir declared all the Hazaras as infidels, they were alarmed. On one occasion, the Mirs and elders of Koch Kaki, Korka, Naik, Siah Dara, Yak Aolang, Zaba, Notaq, Takab Barg, Narkis, Panjao, Ghur Ghori, Tarpas, Surkh Kohak, Akhzarat, Tar Bulaq, Sar Qol, Bandar-e Dai Kundi, Niqur, and Khizir, assembled and discussed their future strategies. They were also joined by three Hazara chiefs from Amir's cavalry. Upon

seeing Amir's extreme cruelty towards the Hazaras they deserted and fled to their country.

The Amir somehow got the news of this assembly and demanded the Hazara elders to send all their religious leaders, i.e., the Zawars, Karbalais, and the Sayeds, to Kabul. They knew that Amir had already declared them as infidels and that once these men went to Kabul, they would be executed. They thought it would be an act of treason against their nation and especially to their religion, to send these men to Kabul. Having no other choice, these leaders unanimously declared war against Amir. They collected their armed men and camped at Aq Rabat, a village between Bamian and Yak Aolang. Seeing this, the Afghan forces under the command of Colonel Mohammad Omar, stationed near Bamian, attacked and defeated the Hazaras after a bloody battle.[99]

September 23, 1891

Marching towards Uruzgan, Sardar Qudus reached the area of Chora and started collecting arms. He stationed about 200 soldiers and marched towards Chinar-Tu. On September 23, 1891, he occupied that region, killed several people and arrested the others. He scattered his soldiers all over the region to arrest the people in the mountain forts. During this period, the relatives of the dead elders attacked the government forces at night but were soon defeated.[100]

October 1891

After capturing the forts of Shish Burja and Chahar Burja in Zaoli region, Colonel Farhad marched toward Uruzgan. At the village Ab-Paran, he met a small Hazara force which he easily defeated and arrested; he sent all the men and women to Kabul as prisoners.[101] At the beginning of October 1891, he joined Sardar Qudus with his large forces at Uruzgan. By the middle of October, the strength of the Afghan forces at Uruzgan reached to as high as 20,000 armed men. Sardar Qudus divided this force into two sections: one responsible for collecting fodder from the Hazaras, and the other to collect the Hazaras' arms. The Hazara chiefs who came to Sardar Qudus, were ordered to demolish many of their forts and to lower the walls of the remaining forts. They were also ordered to surrender their arms with all possible speed. They were further ordered to bring the bricks, doors, beams, and pillars of their demolished forts to Uruzgan for the construction of an Afghan fort and a stable right in the center of the

city.[102]

Amir had ordered Sardar Qudus to arrest the Hazara chiefs who declared the Hazarajat as the "fifth neighboring government", he then dispatched Colonel Farhad to arrest seven of them. These seven elders, Sayed Yosuf of Jaghatu, Faizullah of Dara Pahlawan, Ismail Khan and Mohammad Ali of Shaikha, Khuda Dad of Nek Roze, Jamak of Siah Qol, and Ali Naqi of Sultan, were sent in chains to Kabul under the custody of Sardar Azim Beg. On arrival at Kabul, Azim was given 1,666 rupees from the royal treasury for his loyal services.[103]

After the occupation of Hazarajat, the Afghan forces were freed to do what pleased them best. After Amir's promise to return their arms, most of the Hazaras had already surrendered to the Afghan officials. However, this arms collection became an easy excuse for the Afghan soldiers to do whatever they pleased. Pretending that they were searching for arms, they would enter the Hazara villages and their houses. Finding nothing, they would arrest the men and women and bring them to the Afghan camp. After he saw this uncontrolled situation, Sardar Qudus sent a message to amir, and told him the excessiveness of the soldiers, from killing to the destruction of their property. He also explained that being innocent, he released most of them on bail and let them go. When Amir saw Sardar Qudus's leniency towards the Hazaras, he ordered him not to release them, and to send all the beautiful women and girls to Kabul for Amir's harem. He also ordered him to demolish the forts of Jaghuri and Malistan and appointed Colonel Farhad to be the new administrator of the newly-conquered territory, to be stationed along with his forces at Sang-e Masha. He ordered the confiscation of the arms of Bobash, Shoi, Qalandar, Pasha, and Shirdagh tribes, to be kept at Sang-e Masha.[104]

The leniency of Sardar Qudus towards the Hazaras led to the speculation that he sympathized with the Hazaras in their cause.[105] However, this was not true. Sardar Qudus, who had stationed the Afghan soldiers in the occupied villages, started pressing the Hazaras to provide quarters in their houses. They not only demanded for provision of food and fodder but started raping the Hazara women. The Afghan soldiers became bold due to the actions of their commanders. Sardar Qudus and his high army officials demanded and searched for the attractive Hazara women. Due to extreme cold, Sardar Qudus was vacationing in the Garm-Ser; he took several Hazara women along with him. Seeing their commander's actions, every Afghan

officer and soldier took one or two Hazara women.[106]

Some of the soldiers at Dara-e Pahlawan, in search of Hazara women, entered one house. They found an attractive woman and all of them raped her in front of her husband. When the brother of the husband got the news, he gathered other Hazaras who had also faced such tragic incidents and came to the conclusion that imprisonment, destruction and death would be better than the life they were living. They killed the three Afghan soldiers. Seeing this, all the Palo Hazara of Dara-e Pahlawan attacked the fort where the Uruzgan arms were stored, killed all the guards and captured it. They also killed all the soldiers who were staying by force in their houses. When this news reached the people of Uruzgan in general, and Zaoli, Sultan Ahmad and Hujristan in particular, who had suffered for the past six months, revolted, attacked the Afghan forces, and captured their arms.[107]

While the main reason for this revolt was the Afghan abuse of Hazara women, thus challenging the Hazaras' honor, Kakar states that the other cause was the dispatch of their confiscated arms to Kabul. They considered it a breach of the promises given to them that the arms would be returned as soon as the situation warranted it.[108] At the same time, they were also pressured to pay taxes at the rate of one rupee per family.[109]

On receiving Amir's orders, the Hakim of Qandahar, Abdullah Khan, Hakim of Qalat, Sardar Faqir Mohammad along with tribal forces of Jalghai Arghistan, Ma'ruf, Jaldak, and Hotak, marched towards Chila-Khur. Soon they arrived at Chila-Khur, where they started the massacre of the local Hazaras who had nothing to do with the Uruzgan uprising. The Afghans killed all the Hazara villagers in groups of tens and twenties, marched towards Dai Chopan, and attacked it. After killing the entire male population, they captured their women and children, and made them prisoners. To make sure that other Hazaras learned a lesson, they tied four of the arrested Hazaras in the mouths of cannons and blew them into pieces. This horrible scene created great terror among the people of mountains of Hazarajat.[110]

Meanwhile Colonel Farhad, when reaching the region of Qalandar on his march to Uruzgan, found this tribe ready to fight. He ordered the Chahar Dasta Hazara forces to attack and follow them with his own forces and batteries of cannon. Because of the enormous combined Hazara-Afghan forces, the Qalandar Hazaras could not resist for long and were finally defeated. A great many of them

were killed. The rest were made prisoners and their homes were looted and burned.[111]

The cholera which had already spread throughout Afghanistan became an epidemic among the Hazaras of Uruzgan. So far it had cost them thousands of lives. This was the first cholera outbreak and with no local treatment, the people suffered a great deal.[112] On the other hand, owing to a serious outbreak of cholera in the governor's camp at Chora in the Hazara country, his forces had become demoralized. An attack upon the Hazaras had been postponed indefinitely.[113]

From Ghazni, the combined Afghan forces under the command of Ghulam Hussain Hazara of Mohammad Khwaja, reached Malistan. They joined Mohammad Nabi Khan Malistan and commander Abdus Samad and marched toward the village of Mir Adina. Faqir Mohammad, Hakim of Qalat, with his forces, reached the region of Chila Khur and started the massacre of the Hazara Dai Chopan. Abdullah Khan, Hakim of Qandahar, leading his forces and the Qandahari tribal forces, marched towards Uruzgan. Meanwhile, Colonel Noor Mohammad, along with his forces, joined Colonel Farhad in the vicinity of Qalandar Hazara territory.[114]

At this stage an important event took place which changed the entire picture of the uprising. Sardar Azim Beg, who was instrumental in bringing the independent Hazara tribes in agreement with Amir and who led the Afghan forces into the interior of Hazarajat, joined the rebel forces.[115] There is no explanation for his action. The Hazaras rejoiced on his joining their camp, and obeyed his orders during the coming months.

Leading his forces, Sardar Azim came to the Kotal-e Kashkol and camped at the entrance of the pass. Sardar Qudus, stationed at Ghizab, marched toward Chora. When he reached the above Kotal he found that he could not cross the pass, as it was in the control of Hazaras. A bloody battle took place and a large number of Afghan soldiers were killed. The number of dead Afghan soldiers was so great that it created havoc among the rest of them. However, the Hazaras were pushed back, Sardar Qudus finally captured the village of Chora, and camped his forces there.[116]

The news from Herat spread that the tribal levies, probably Uzbeks, sent from Maimana to assist in suppressing the Hazara rebellion, had mutinied and returned to Maimana, where they attacked Amir's garrison. They were completely defeated.[117]

August 9, 1892

In the south, the Hazaras of Bobash were attacked on August 9, 1892, by Afghan forces under the command of Sardar Faqir Mohammad. When Qalandar tribe saw this situation, they came to the assistance of Bobash and started a bloody battle. The Hazaras, however, could not resist the Afghan cannons and were defeated. The Afghan forces massacred the Hazaras, then sent their heads to the camp.[118]

The commander-in-chief marched from Yak Aolang to the region of Kotal-e Andoli and Rustam. He met and defeated a combined force of Panjao, Niqur, Surkh Joi and Morga. He marched further to the Akhzarat and sent the news of Afghan victories to Amir. When Amir received this news he distributed orders to his commander-in-chief and his commanders stationed in Hazarajat, not to hesitate to massacre all the Hazaras, destroy their villages and confiscate their arms.[119]

After defeating the Hazara of Mir Adina, Zardak, and Qashwang, General Ata Khan reached the fort of Qazi Askar. He began preparation for an assault on Sardar Azim and his camp in the village of Qala-e Shir. Both sides were fully prepared; in the next few days a fierce battle was fought. A great many men were killed and finally with the help of his cannons, the commander-in-chief defeated Sardar Azim; he fled to the valley of Abdar. All the houses in and around that village were completely demolished, and hundreds of women and children were taken prisoner.[120]

While the Afghan forces were victorious in other regions of Hazarajat, they had a difficult time in Uruzgan. The Afghan forces, under their leader Brigadier Zabardast Khan, were challenged by Uruzgani forces, and after a bitter battle the Afghans were defeated and besieged. When the news of this defeat reached to his brother, Faiz Mohammad Khan, he marched against the Uruzgan force. After killing about 1,000 Afghans, tthe Hazaras forced Faiz Mohammad to take refuge in the fort of his brother. After a month's seige, the Afghans surrendered unconditionally to the Hazaras. The Hazaras took possession of the fort, massacred a great number of the troops and hunted the rest of them up to Tirin.[121]

August 19-20, 1892

When the news of this destruction reached Amir, he ordered his troops stationed throughout Hazarajat to march towards Uruzgan.

From one side, General Sher Mohammad and Colonel Farhad, destroyed the villages of Zaoli, Pasha, Payak, and Shirdagh, marched towards Uruzgan. From the other side, on August 19, 1892, the commander-in-chief destroyed all the forts of Dai Zangi, and marched towards Uruzgan. On August 20, 1892, General Sher Mohammad and Colonel Farhad met a strong resistance while on their way to Uruzgan by the Hazaras of Pasha, Shirdagh, Zaoli, and Sultan Ahmad. This attack proved to be catastrophic for the Afghans who lost a large number of their soldiers. The Hazaras were finally defeated; after burning their villages, the Afghan forces marched towards Uruzgan.[122]

Meanwhile, Sardar Azim reached Ghizab, led his people and attacked the Afghan camp. They killed many Afghan soldiers and plundered the government treasury. On receiving this news, the Hakim of Qandahar sent messages to the Hazaras not to raise their arms but to remain peaceful. The Hazaras ignored such an appeal and many more tribes joined Sardar Azim.[123]

Meanwhile, the Afghan forces were busy crushing the small pocket of resistance in Hazarajat. Brigadier Mohammad Sidiq defeated the forces of Sardar Azim in the village of Sholan and forced him to flee. Similarly, the Hazara of Bobash, who took refuge in the mountains, were also defeated. Commander-in-chief Ghulam Haider, when reaching the Seh Pai Dai Zangi, defeated the Hazara elders.[124] During this time, Ghizab was the center of all the Hazara tribes who fled from their respective areas and gathered there. Sardar Azim was stationed there; through his efforts he closed all the mountain passes leading to Ghizab. On August 20, 1892, Sardar Abdullah marched towards Ghizab. When he reached the entrance of Kotal-e Kaj wa Qol, he found that the Hazaras had created a barricade in the Kotal by dumping rocks and bushes. He also found that the Hazaras were hiding behind the mountain and were ready to attack the Afghan forces. When the Hazaras saw such a massive force equipped with cannons they fled towards Ghizab. After clearing the pass, the Afghans entered Ghizab and attacked and massacred the Hazaras. Sardar Azim, however, escaped and fled to the village of Chaqmaq.[125]

During August 1892, Amir ordered General Sher Mohammad, General Mir Ata, and Colonal Farhad to destroy the tribes of Pasha, Shirdagh and Qalandar. Afterwards, they were to attack Sardar Azim who was camping at the village of Sher Qala. They were to finally march to Uruzgan and ensure that not a single Hazara soul was left

alive in those mountains.[126]

September 1892

During September 1892, there were armed clashes in the foothills of Koh-e Baba. Commander Sher Mohammad marched from Bamian via Band-d Amir and reached Yak Aolang. He stationed 800 Kohistani tribal forces there so that none of the Hazaras of this region could join the rebellion. The people of Sar-e Jangal under the leadership of Mir Mahdi Beg were revolting against Amir. A Turkistani force was dispatched against them and soon they were defeated. After a general massacre, their villages were set afire and the women and children were made prisoners. After their victory over Sar-e Jangal, these Turkistani forces attacked the Aba Hazaras but were defeated and withdrew to Bamian.[127]

During this time, Afghan forces, marching from different directions towards Uruzgan, faced the Hazara resistance. One Afghan commander, Haji Mohammad Naim, attacked the Ghazni Hazaras and accused them of sending letters of complaint to their religious leaders in Mashhad, Iran. He arrested the leaders of Mohammad Khwaja, Chahar Dasta, and Jaghatu and sent them to Kabul as prisoners.[128] The Afghan and Hazara forces also clashed at Kimsan and a great many Hazaras were massacred and their heads were sent to Qandahar. A similar Hazara massacre happened in the village of Kurkaba of Mohammad Khwaja and their heads were sent to the capital.[129] An English correspondent stationed in Kabul had sent the report that Amir's troops had attacked the Hazaras in their position at Kimsan carrying with it heavy losses. The Hazaras were reported to have gained some small advantages elsewhere.[130]

A combined Hazara-Afghan force under the command of General Mir Ata Khan, General Sher Mohammad, and Colonel Farhad, attacked the fort of Qazi Askar in Hujristan. Qazi Askar was the most prestigious leader of the Hazaras. He supported and fought with Sardar Azim. Most of the inhabitants were massacred while some successfully escaped. After this, they fought a fierce battle with the combined forces of Hazaras of Mir Adina, Zaoli, and Sultan Ahmad and were defeated. Most of the Hazaras were killed on the battleground while the rest, who fled to the mountains, were chased and killed one by one. They set the forts of Mir Adina and Zardak on fire; hundreds of men, women, and children were made prisoners. Sardar Azim had left the village of Chaqmaq under heavy pressure and reached the

village of Sher Qala where he strengthened his forces to face the Afghans. General Mir Ata Khan and General Sher Mohammad Khan marched towards the borders of Zaoli to punish Sardar Azim.[131]

So far, the war activities were concentrated in the southern and central regions of Hazarajat and the Hazaras living in the foothills of Koh-e Baba were not affected.

September 19, 1892

Now that the Hazara resistance had been crushed, the Afghan forces started pouring into Uruzgan. On September 19, 1892, General Sher Mohammad, General Mir Ata Khan, Colonel Farhad, and Brigadier Mohammad Sidiq ordered their forces to march and enter Uruzgan. Sardar Abdullah and his forces also entered Uruzgan and joined the rest of the army. The Hazaras who were in their forts resisted, and after suffering a great loss on both sides and being no match for such a massive force, finally gave up. The Afghans started their celebration of victory with a gun salute.[132]

There are no detailed descriptions by Afghan sources of the final days of war and the fall of Uruzgan. Amir had informed the British agent stationed in Kabul that his troops had captured Uruzgan and this would result in the absolute subjugation of the Hazara rebels.[133] There were also intelligence reports that Amir's eldest son, Habibullah Khan, had been ordered to leave for Hazarajat.[134] The only detailed picture that recounts the last days of the war was the statement of an Uruzgan chief, who led his people in the war. According to Mir Hussain Beg, the Uruzgani chief:

> "An army of about 30,000 men under the joined command of Ghulam Haider Khan, Commander-in-Chief, Sardar Abdul Qudus Khan, Colonel Farhad Khan, and General Ata Mohammad Khan arrived at Daya and Folad. The Uruzgan Hazaras were foolish enough to march to Daya to meet the enemy instead of remaining in their place and fortifying their stongholds. The fighting Hazaras now numbers at about 9,000 men. A battle took place at Daya where 500 Hazaras were killed or wounded; about 1,000 fell on the Afghan side.
>
> While the Hazaras were engaged in this battle, an Afghan detachment of cavalry had been dispatched to Folad, thus cutting off all the communication between the fighting

Hazaras at the front and the other Hazaras of Uruzgan. Seeing this, the Hazaras moved towards Folad and fought a battle with the Afghan troops there. This was the severest battle which had been fought hitherto. The Afghan troops at Daya had come back by this time and attacked the Hazaras from the rear, while detachment of cavalry set upon them from the front and thus they were singularly defeated with a loss of 2,000 men.

In these circumstances, the Hazaras saw no alternative but to hastily retreat to Uruzgan, while being pursued by the Afghans. When the Hazaras returned to Uruzgan, they carried their wives and children to the mountain fort, then commenced fighting with the Afghans for five days. Several thousand men were killed and wounded on both sides. In the meantime, Sardar Abdullah, Governor of Qandahar, arrived at Uruzgan and summoned the Hazara chiefs to come in and make terms; they sent a sealed Quran to assure that their lives and property would be saved. Mir Hussain Beg and other Hazara chiefs accordingly came in with about 600 men. No sooner had the Hazaras come in than a signal for slaughter was made. With the exception of the chiefs and their families, all the Hazaras were put to the swords."[135]

After the fall of Uruzgan, the Hazara tribes of Saeed Darwesh, Qadam, Nek Roze, Shaikha and the people of Dara-e Shah Ali also gave up their resistance; Sardar Abdullah Khan collected their arms. The Qalandar tribe, still fighting with Afghan forces when they heard about the fall of Uruzgan, submitted to the Afghan authority.[136]

When the news of Afghan victory over Uruzgan reached Amir, who was in Jalalabad, ordered a celebration, including a 21-gun salute in Jalalabad and in every town and village of Afghanistan. He also ordered the news of Afghan victory be printed and distributed throughout the country.[137]

While the country was celebrating the Afghan victory, the Afghan-Hazara skirmishes continued. The Afghan forces with the cooperation of two Dai Kundi Hazara elders attacked the village of Shola and fought Sardar Azim. After a brief battle, he was defeated, arrested, and sent with his family to Kabul as a prisoner.[138]

September 25, 1892

During the conquer of Uruzgan, Sardar Qudus was ill and could

not join the Afghan forces to enter Uruzgan. He stayed behind in the village of Begh. After he recovered, he marched towards Uruzgan and Colonel Farhad and Commander Mohammad Afzal along with their forces and cannons received him at the village of Aspandyar, located south of Dai Chopan. They all entered Uruzgan on September 25, 1892. On the next day, Commander-in-Chief Ghulam Haider also reached Uruzgan.[139]

September 29, 1892

The occupation of Uruzgan did not end the Hazara resistance. Pockets of forced resistance were reported from all over Hazarajat. Seeing this, Brigadier Mohammad Sadiq was ordered to take a force and attack the Hazaras of Dara-e Pahlawan. The Hazaras resisted the Afghan army, and on September 29, 1892, a bloody war occured. Both sides lost a great many men. The Hazaras' loss was particularly heavy because of heavy bombardment by Afghan cannons. Large numbers of Hazaras were taken prisoner.[140] When the commander-in-chief got the news that the people of Dara Shah Ali and the tribes of Saeed Darwesh, Qadam, and Hussaini had collected arms and plans of attack, he sent messages of their peaceful submission. These Hazaras rejected his proposal and challenged him, for which the commander-in-chief retaliated with a large force of cavalry, infantry, and many cannons. Large numbers of Hazaras were killed, but the Afghan losses were also great. When the Hazaras saw that their further resistance would be of no avail, they took refuge in their forts. Seeing this, the commander-in-chief ordered the shelling of their forts and all the Hazara villages were burned.[141]

October 10, 1892

Meanwhile, the commander-in-chief got the news that a large number of Uruzgani Hazaras had taken refuge in the region of Ghur-Ghur Ab, Pasha, and Shirdagh. This greatly concerned the government forces. The commander-in-chief ordered General Sher Mohammad and Colonel Farhad to march with their forces and cannons against these people; on October 10, 1892, they attacked them. When the Hazaras saw such a large army, they fled and took refuge in the mountains, and gathered in the village of Kalwajaq. Because of the high elevation, the Afghans could not carry their cannons, and therefore postponed their expedition. Instead, they attacked Shirdagh Hazaras; after defeating them they burned everything.[142]

Now that most of the Hazara uprisings had been crushed, Amir ordered that regular government forces should remain stationed in different parts of Hazarajat. He ordered commander Mohammad Hassan with forces and cannons, to establish headquarters at Sang-e Masha, Jaghuri. He ordered Colonel Farhad and his forces at Mir Adina, General Sher Mohammad and his forces into Uruzgan, Commander Fateh Mohammad Khan into Daya, Hujristan, Commander Ghulam Haider into Ashkarabad. The remaining forces from Turkistan, Herat, Farah, Qandahar, Qalat, and Ghazni were sent back to their respective places.[143]

October 19, 1892

Meanwhile, the region of Qalandar became a heaven for fugitives from Shirdagh, Pasha; when Afghan officials came to know about this situation they started their march toward Qalandar. General Mir Ata Khan was the first Afghan official who, on October 19, 1892, marched toward Qalandar. He was followed by general Sher Mohammad, Colonel Farhad, and Commander Mohammad Sadiq, along with their regular and tribal forces. The combined forces attacked the Hazaras of Shirdagh, Pasha, and Qalandar, but faced a stiff resistance. Seeing this, the Afghan commanders used the services of their friend, Sultan Ali Khan Jaghuri, and sent him to convince the Hazaras to submit. After long negotiations, they agreed, and came before general Sher Mohammad and surrendered. Honoring their agreement, the Afghan officials restrained from general massacre and destruction.[144]

October 28, 1892

When Amir got the news of such leniency toward Hazaras, he sent orders on October 28, 1892, to all his officers instructing them:

> "That they have been ordered again and again that the Hazara people are misled and mischievous. You will do your best if you kill and destroy these people so that their name should not remain within the boundaries of Afghanistan. And the one who submitted to my authority, you should confiscate their arms and punish them accordingly. Remember: do not hesitate to kill and destroy the one who resists and rebels."[145]

Meanwhile, Mawla Dad Khan, Hakim of Farah, along with Colonel Mohammad Khan marched toward the Hazaras of Shira. A great massacre happened and the surviving men, women, and children were made prisoners and were driven to the village Chinar Tu where

General Ata Khan was encamped.[146]

January 30, 1893

Although much of the Hazara uprising was suppressed, pockets of resistance could occasionally be found. The leaders of these small groups were the tribal and religious leaders who found the Afghan occupation a direct threat to their authority. When Amir found it impossible to control the Hazara masses, he finally came up with his plan to arrest these leaders. On January 30, 1893, he sent nineteen messages to the Afghan commanders stationed in Hazarajat:

> "It has been ordered again and again that the Hazara Sayeds, Karbalais, Zawars and the Mirs, whether they have participated in the uprising or not, should not be left in their home country; they should be sent to Kabul. It is my order that every one of them, along with their families, should be arrested and sent to Kabul."[147]

March 12, 1893

Upon receipt of the above order, Colonel Farhad arrested forty-six prominent leaders from Baba, Aicha, Maska, Alia, Sufli, Pasha, Shirdagh, Qalandar, Mir Adina, and Zaoli tribes. They were chained and sent to Kabul, while their property and cattle were confiscated by Afghan soldiers. However, Farhad Khan could not arrest two of the most courageous and brave leaders, Rasul Khan of Shoi and Bobash, and Taji Khan of Qalandar. Taji Khan was residing at that time in the village of Khak-e Iran. Because of this, on March 12, 1893, Amir ordered Commander Mohammad Hassan to attack Taji Khan with all his strength. He also sent a Jaghuri elder, Sultan Ali Khan, to capture him. After surrounding the village the Afghan commander captured him, made him prisoner and sent him to Kabul.[148]

So far, much of the war activities were concentrated in the southern and central regions of Hazarajat. With the arrest and imprisonment of the Hazara elders of the rebellion regions, the elders and Mirs of Dai Kundi, Dai Zangi, and Besud, supporters of Amir in his war against the Hazaras, became more concerned. They saw that if they did not take any action they would be the next to be arrested. About one hundred twenty of these elders and Mirs banded together and declared war against Amir. They attacked the government forces who came to arrest the family of Mohammad Amir Beg Ilkhani. They also destroyed the fodders sent from Bamian for the Afghan soldiers

stationed at Yak Aolang. After accomplishing these tasks, they marched toward the fort where Afghan Hakim, Mufti, and the chief of religious affairs for Yak Aolang were stationed. When Amir got this news he ordered Colonel Mohammad Osman to march from Bamian and assist the government forces. He also ordered the Hakim of Kahmard and Saiqan to march towards Yak Aolang.

Meanwhile, Dad Mohammad Khan, Hakim of Seh Pai Dai Zangi, reached Panjao and sent a copy of Quran to the Hazaras, requesting them not to create further disturbances and to submit peacefully. The Hazaras wrote back that because of their respect for Quran, they had been beaten and humiliated beyond their imagination; and as long as they were alive they would never give up. In fact, two of their leaders, Yosuf Beg and Salman Beg of Waras, marched towards Panjao to arrest the Hakim. After he discovered their plan, he fled to the village of Mushak. Seeing the arrest of Afghan Hakim and Mufti of Yak Aolang, the Hazaras of Tamzan also arrested the Hakim and Qazi of Ghizab, who were busy collecting the Hazara arms.[149]

After arresting the Afghan Hakim and Qazi and other officers, the Hazaras of Dai Zangi and Dai Kundi joined to face Afghan forces encamped in the village of Kotal-e-Gharak. Afghan forces under the command of Colonel Mohammad Omar attacked the Hazaras upon their arrival. The Hazaras who were holding the mountain pass showed great resistance and the Afghans lost many lives. But under constant cannon shelling they could not hold the pass for long, and withdrew to Yak Aolang. Meanwhile, Amir was watching the developments very closely and sent urgent messages to his commanders to march with their forces. Upon receiving Amir's orders, Commander-in-Chief Ghulam Haider marched from Turkistan, Brigadier Amir Mohammad from Kabul, General Ata Khan from Ghazni, and Mohammad Sadiq from Qandahar.[150]

May 1-4, 1893

Seeing the uprising of the Dai Zangi and Dai Kundi, the Besud Hazaras finally took up arms on May 1, 1893, and attacked the Afghan Hakim, Kahindal Khan, stationed in the Diwal Qol village. Seeing this, the Besud soldiers who were under the command of Afghan Hakim also joined their Hazara brothers. Kahindal Khan somehow escaped and took refuge in the village of Band-e Asiah, where he was again arrested by the Hazaras. (Later, on May 22, 1893, however, a large Afghan force consisting of the people of Sar-e

Chashmah and Maidan, reached the village of Band-e Asiah and released the besieged Hakim.) On May 4, 1893, Brigadier Amir Mohammad, with his cannons and a large force of cavalry and infantry, marched towards Besud.[151]

May 5, 1893

The Mirs of Dai Zangi and Dai Kundi who had arrested the Afghan Hakim and Qazi along with their families, also confiscated letters from the Hakim which were sent to him by Amir, regarding the arrest of all Mirs, Sayeds, Karbalais, and Zawars. By showing these letters, the Mirs successfully ignited the flame of the uprising among the general public against Amir. On receiving the news of such uprising, Amir, on May 5, 1893, sent the following message to the Hazaras of Besud, Dai Zangi, and Dai Kundi:

> "I [Amir] have no ill feelings towards Hazara people.... I was always anxious for the welfare and well being of your nation. I, therefore, prohibited the selling and buying of Hazaras. Being Muslim, I supported you on all occasions. It was because of my love for your people, that after the suppression of rebellion, instead of general massacre, I forgave you. Now these Mirs of Dai Kundi and Dai Zangi to whom I always bestowed robes and gifts have taken their arms against me. These are the same Mirs who have exploited their countrymen and even sold their children, in order to provide the luxurious life for themselves. I ask you people to lay down your arms. If you become peaceful, you will be honored as before."[152]

On receiving this message, the Hazaras collectively wrote this letter:

> "The request of Amir, according to the situation is correct, but the officers, the Qazis, the revenue collectors, and the Afghan soldiers stationed in every village took advantage of Amir's declaration of the Hazaras as infidels. They considered it to be lawful to confiscate their properties, destroying the whole nation, and enslave the women and children. We, the Hazaras of Dai Zangi, Dai Kundi, Besud, Malistan, Jaghuri, Dai Chopan, and Ghazni, helped Amir to subjugate the indepependent Hazara tribes, who from time immemorial were free. They accepted the Amir's terms, through our efforts. They also destroyed their strongholds and surrendered their arms to the Afghans. After their submission, the

Afghan forces spread all over the Hazarajat and started selling and buying Hazara women and children, a practice Amir prohibited recently. The Afghan soldiers did not stop their act, but started raping the married and unmarried women. This was the end of Hazara patience; they could not stand further humiliation. Once again they took their arms to stop the Afghan brutalities and save their honor and pride. On the other hand, the Sunni Ulema [clergymen] who, without distinguishing the friendly and the foe, declared the whole Hazara nation as infidels, considered their complete destruction to be a service to Islam. At the same time, Amir ordered the arrest of Mirs, Sayeds, and Karbalais who were to be sent to Kabul to be killed. Once these distinguished people were taken to Kabul, their families were enslaved and their properties confiscated. After seeing all these barbarious and humiliating acts, under no circumstances could they trust you. They will never surrender before your authority."[153]

On receiving such a strongly worded message from the Hazara elders, Amir ordered General Sher Mohammad from Uruzgan, Colonel Farhad from Mir Adina, Commander Abdus Samad from Ghizab, Colonel Fateh Mohammad from Hujristan, Commander Mohammad Hassan from Sang-e Masha, and Commander Ghulam Haider from Ashkarabad to march with their armies against the rebel tribes. He also ordered the forces stationed at Kabul, Turkistan, Herat, and Qandahar to march against these tribes. On arrival of these combined forces, a bloody battle was fought in the region of Kotal-e Tamzan. Both sides lost a great number of men. After defeating the Hazaras, the Afghans captured a large amount of supplies. The Hazaras once again gathered and another bloody battle was fought in the village of Spikh Sang. The Hazaras were defeated again; after leaving many dead behind, they fled to Tamzan.[154]

The foreign correspondent stationed at Kabul reported that a fresh rebellion in Hazarajat against Amir was on the eve of breaking out. According to these reports, His Highness was moving troops from Ghazni and Bamian, and was ordering an adequate force prepared at Qandahar. The news needed confirmation but the Hazara were said to have made a raid near Ghazni.[155]

May 8, 1893

On May 8, 1893, Amir Mohammad Khan, along with his forces

and cannons, reached Garden-e Dewal. At the same time, Ghulam Hassan Qizilbash started his march from Kotal-e Abdullah towards Dai Zangi. When Amir Mohammad Khan reached the lower region of the Kotal-e Siah Nahur, he faced a fierce Hazara opposition, but finally defeated the Hazaras after heavy bloodshed. The Hazaras crossed the bridge over the Helmand River and again came face to face with Afghan forces. After a bloody battle, they were defeated and their leader, Sayed Hussain Ali, was arrested and beheaded. Meanwhile, the Afghan forces also defeated the Dai Zangi forces at Surkh Joi. These forces were fighting under their leader, Mir Azim Beg of Shadi tribe of Dai Zangi.[156]

May 19-24, 1893

Another dispatch from Kabul by an English correspondent reported that on May 24, 1893, Amir's forces had inflicted a severe defeat upon the Hazaras, while news from Qandahar dated May 19, 1893, stated that Amir's troops had sustained a severe loss.[157]

At the same time, Taji Khan Qalandar, who so far successfully managed to remain free, was arrested by the Afghan forces in the village of Shaikh Jee.[158] Hazara forces also offered resistance, but were defeated at the village of Sang-e Salar. However, at Bad-Gah, a midway point between Chaqcharan and Daulat Yar, the Hazaras defeated the Afghan forces and burned all their supplies and tents.[159]

May 30, 1893

On receipt of Amir's message, commander-in-chief Sardar Ghulam Haider marched from Mazar-e Sharif and on May 30, 1893, reached the region of Yak Aolang. When the Hazaras of the villages of Firoz Bahar, Sar-e Qol, Gharak and Gohar-Kin heard about the commander-in-chief's arrival at Band-e Amir, they abandoned their villages and fled. The commander-in-chief ordered his soldiers to burn all the villages; a large number of cattle and sheep were confiscated. When he heard that the Hazaras had gathered in the village of Zari, he attacked them with his forces and cannons; after a bloody battle he defeated the Hazaras. A great many Hazaras were killed and many more were arrested. Soldiers were sent to search the nearby mountains and kill the ones who escaped. Thus, after arresting and killing the Hazaras, the region of Yak Aolang and Sar-e Jangal was cleared from the insurgents.[160]

June 1, 1893

On June 1, 1893, Brigadier Mohammad Sadiq reached Ghizab, and from Malistan General Mir Ata Khan reached Panjao. After crushing the local resistance, he joined Brigadier Amir Mohammad Khan. The combined forces of these two Afghan officers then reached the region of Waras and cleared this area from the insurgents by massacre of the entire population. Then the commander-in-chief arrested all the Hazara fugitives and they were beheaded. After this massacre, he ordered all the villages set afire, stretching from Band-e-Amir to the region of Sar-e Jangal.[161]

June 11, 1893

Colonel Ghulam Hassan Qizibash, along with his Afghan cavalry, attacked the Hazaras who gathered in the village of Arkin. The Hazaras lost many lives, but were holding their position. While the battle was in its peak, the Afghan forces were reinforced by the joining of Aka Khail tribal forces. This resulted in a quick defeat for the Hazaras who were finally defeated and massacred on June 11, 1893.[162]

June 24-26, 1893

After burning the villages and massacring a great many inhabitants of Yak Aolang and Sar-e Jangal regions, the commander-in-chief marched towards Lal. While on his way to Lal, he faced a small Hazara resistance at the village Kajak, but after an easy Hazara defeat, he reached the region of Lal and immediately ordered all the villages burned. On the night of June 24, 1893, his camp was attacked by the Hazaras who took refuge in the nearby mountains. After much bloodshed, the Hazaras were defeated and the commander-in-chief marched toward Ashtarli.[163]

On June 26, 1893, the Hazaras of Tamzan were also defeated by the Afghan forces under the command of Brigadier Mohammad Sadiq. The victorious Afghan armies under the joint command of Brigadier Mohammad Sadiq and General Sher Mohammad, marched towards the village of Sang-e Moam arrived on July 4, 1893.[164] By this time, while much of Hazarajat came into the grips of Afghan forces, small skirmishes occurred. According to the English correspondent stationed at Kabul, all sections of Hazarajat except two had submitted to the Amir.[165] For the next two months, the Afghan forces arrested the Hazara elders and sent them to Kabul.[166]

August 4, 1893

On August 4, 1893, Amir held his royal durbar (court) in Kabul, granting dress of honor to some loyal Hazara chiefs.[167]

September 1893

By September 1893, the whole region of Hazarajat was quiet and Afghans enjoyed a state of tranquility.[168] Thus, a nation who was free for centuries was finally forced to accept the Afghan yoke and become a subject nation in their own land.

It was a costly war for the Hazaras, both materially and in terms of human lives. Kakar[169] has summarized the consequences of the war and also gives a picture of the Hazarajat destruction:

1. Hazaras' properties and pastures were confiscated and were distributed among Afghans. Durranis and Ghilzais were settled in the Uruzgan region.
2. The Hazara prisoners were sold in the open markets and the royal treasury received its share from the slave trade.
3. Because of the destruction of their houses and crops, and because of the fear of enslavement, many Hazaras took refuge in the neighboring countries.
4. The Hazara religious and political leaders were arrested and imprisoned, leaving the masses without any leadership.
5. The Hazaras were religiously persecuted and were forced to follow the Sunni faith. Sunni religious leaders were stationed all over Hazarajat.

Important Events During and After the War

By the end of the bloody war, the Hazaras were undoubtedly the clear losers. Their country was desolated. Their villages and forts were destroyed. Their crops and other vegetation were set afire. Their animals were driven to the Afghan camps. Their wives and children were made prisoners and were sold in the markets. Merchants coming from Hazarajat reported that food grains were so scarce in the vicinity of Uruzgan and Dai Zangi that merchants and travellers dared not visit.[170] But primarily, the Hazaras lost a large number of the male population, were killed on the battlegrounds or forced to flee the country.

There is no doubt that the punishment that the Hazaras received was terrible. It was openly said that pillars of the heads of the

slaughtered Hazaras were made at points on the highways as a warning to others who might contemplate a trial of strength with the existing government.[171] While the battlegrounds throughout Hazarajat were littered with the dead bodies of the Hazaras, tens of thousands of their heads were sent to Kabul, Qandahar, and other places to the Afghan officials. In one example, thirty mule loads of Hazara heads were sent to Kabul from Uruzgan.[172]

Treatment of Hazara Elders by Afghans

After the Hazaras were defeated at Kimsan, they were massacred by the Afghans and their heads were sent to Qandahar. These heads were put on the points of spears, marched through the streets of Qandahar, and were made a minaret outside the main city gate for memorial.[173] Also, fifty-eight Sayeds and elders of Hazara Mohammad Khwaja and Jaghatu of Ghazni were arrested, sent to Kabul, and put in jails where most of them died.[174]

Commander Fateh Mohammad Khan, captured the village of Kurkaba and Qaq of Mohammad Khwaja. The residents had taken refuge in the nearby mountains; he attacked and killed most of them and brought their heads back to the Afghan camp.[175] Sardar Faqir Mohammad Khan Hakim of Qalat attacked the people of Bobash who, along with people of Qalandar, had taken refuge in the mountains. After a bloody battle, the Hazaras were defeated and a great massacre took place. Their heads were brought to the camp.[176]

Sayed Hussain Ali, the leader of Hazaras in war against Afghan at Kotel-e Siah Nahur, was killed; his head was cut off and sent to Bamian to be forwarded to Kabul along with 400 other Hazara heads.[177] In Besud region, twenty-seven elders of Besud, Dai Zangi, Dai Kundi, Gizab, Uruzgan, Zoi, and Qalandar were arrested and brought to Qila Hashim Khan. They were killed by a firing squad of the government soldiers.[178]

General Sher Mohammad Khan, on Amir's orders, went to arrest the two Hazara elders, Ali Bakhsh and Qasim Ali Beg, who took refuge in the mountains. Ali Bakhsh, who was sick, was arrested in the mountains of Dai Kundi. Because of his sickness he could not face the Afghan persecution and died while in their custody. General Sher Mohammad cut his head off, filled it with straw, and took it with him to Gizab.[179]

Sexual Abuse of Hazara Women

During campaigns to confiscate arms, the Afghan soldiers would

enter the Hazara houses and make the collection of arms their excuse to rape Hazara women. Some of the soldiers who were stationed in Dara-e Pahlawan in Uruzgan would somehow get the news that a Hazara had a very beautiful wife. They would enter the house, tie the hands and feet of the husband, and rape his wife in front of him. The brother of the man somehow got the news and along with his other relatives got together and killed the three Afghan soldiers who were responsible.[180]

One of the government cavalry men entered the house of Mir Yazdan Bakhsh Beg of Waras, an elder Mir of Dai Zangi, a prisoner in Kabul jail, and took his wife and raped her. When the villagers heard her cries they entered the house and caught the Afghan in the act. They took the man to Sardar Qudus, but the soldier was released without punishment.[181]

The war correspondents who were travelling with Sardar Qudus, wrote to Amir that Sardar Qudus had taken by force some of the prettiest daughters of Hazara elders to enjoy their company. Following their leader's example, all the officers and soldiers had taken one or two Hazara girls. When Amir got the news he wrote to Sardar Qudus to send some of the pretty girls to Kabul which he thought would fit the Royal Harem.[182]

At a different location, Sardar Qudus had taken some of the Hazara elders' daughters; it was winter in Hazarajat, and he marched to the southern Hazarajat and spent his winter in the company of Hazara maidens.[183]

The daughter and the daughter-in-law of Mohammad Rahim, Mehtar of Mir Adina, along with another girl who was arrested and in the company of Colonel Farhad, committed suicide by hanging themselves in the night.[184]

Amir was further notified that Saeed Mohammad Khan Kohistani, the Hakim of Jaghuri, had raped four Jaghuri married women and kept them in his house by force.[185]

General Mir Ata Khan had captured the daughters and sisters of Mir Mahdi Beg and other Mirs at Khizar and were enjoying their company.[186]

Mohammad Ali Khan, son of General Sher Mohammad Khan, along with some cavalry and infantry soldiers, entered the house of Ahmad Ali of Baba tribe. They tied and beat him and asked him to present his daughter for their sexual pleasure. When he refused to do so, they started beating him again. Due to the presence of the Qazi and

Mufti, they did not press him further. But during the following night, his house was burned and his property was looted. In another location, Mulla Mohammad Hassan, a soldier in the Afghan infantry, entered the house of Mohammad Rahim of Alidad Qalandar, who had a beautiful daughter. He tied the father to the trunk of a tree and started beating him, demanding that he give his daughter to him; otherwise, he would be made a prisoner and be sent to Kabul.[187]

The soldiers of Panjshiri unit stationed at Hujristan would enter the Hazara houses and rape the women day or night. Mirza Saeed Mohammad, Amil of Hujristan, had taken the wife of Ali Sher Zawar, a prisoner in Kabul jail. He took the Hazara woman, into his house, and forced her to become his sexual object. He also kept the wife of another person, Qurban who was away, and brought her to his home and raped her. When this woman's husband finally returned, he demanded his wife's release. It was only after much argument that the woman was freed.[188]

Mirza Ghulam Haider, Amil of Jaghuri, considered the confiscation of Hazara properties legal, and demanded the Hazaras supply him with one girl each month. After keeping the girl at his home for a month, he would get rid of her and demand another virgin girl.[189]

Religious Persecution of the Hazaras

About 300 men and women of Turi Pashtun of Parachinar, Kurrum, on pilgrimage to Mashhad, reached Kabul. Because they were Shias, and had opted to remain under the government of British India, the Afghans hated them. Amir ordered them to return to Kurrum and they were prohibited from ever using Afghanistan as their pilgrimage route to Mashhad.[190]

The people of Malistan were defeated at Qila Shish Burja and they came to Colonel Farhad for reconciliation. Colonel Farhad asked them to recite Kalima, and forced them to say that they were infidels or heathens and were thankful to God that now they had become Muslims. The Hazaras recited the Kalima, but refused to say that they were infidels or heathen. Instead they said that thanks to God they had been Muslims for generations.[191]

Amir appointed Ghulam Jan Janakzai as Qazi of Gizab. He also appointed Mulla Abdullah Mian Khail along with Mulla Abdur Rahman Kakari and two clerks who were sent to Gizab. He appointed Mulla Sar Baland Khan as Qazi of Yak Aolang and Mulla Mohammad Tahir as the head of religious affairs in that region. He

also appointed Mulla Abdul Wahab as religious leader in Ashkarabad, Mulla Abdul Ali in Uruzgan, Mulla Painda Mohammad in Hujristan, Mulla Abdus Salam in Jaghuri. These people went to their respective territories on their mission to convert Shia Hazaras to become Sunni, thus propagating the Hanafi faith among the Hazaras.[192]

Prince Habibullah had converted two of the great Takyakhana (Shia places of worship) in the Chandiwal area of Kabul into mosques; he appointed Sunni Mo'azin and Imams, and from that day on, he banned the provocative language used by the Shias against the Caliphs.[193]

Sayed Abdul Qayum Khan Qazi, at Dai Zangi, decided to build a mosque and to teach the Hazaras the Islamic principals of Sunni Hanafi teachings so as to change them from Shia to Sunni faith. When Amir was notified about his intention, he ordered him to build one mosque for each 50 and 100 Hazara families and teach them Islamic principals according to Hanafi Sunni belief.[194]

Mulla Mohammad Khaliq Khan in Pamqan, confiscated some Shia books from the Hazaras. Because they were materials which were against the Hanafi Sunni sect, the books were sent to Kabul for Amir's inspection.[195]

On July 20, 1895, Amir ordered the arrest of a Shia clergyman, Agha Abbas, Raoza-khwan, who was residing in Herat. From that day, the Raoza-khwani and celebration of mourning of Imam Hussain in the month of Muharram was prohibited throughout Afghanistan.[196]

On the night of June 22, 1896, at the village of Bolmarah, Turkistan, the Shias were celebrating their religious mourning. When this news reached the camp of commander-in-chief Ghulam Haider Khan, he sent a large number of soldiers to attack the village during the darkness of night, an action that surprised the villagers. The soldiers beat the villagers, confiscated their religious books and dispersed them. When Amir came to know about this incident, he congratulated his officials for their actions.[197]

Hazara Uprising and the Neighboring Governments

The news of the Hazara massacre and their destruction spread throughout Afghanistan and beyond. Mirza Hassan Shirazi Mujtahid came to know (through the letters from the elders of Hazarajat) about such massacres and religious persecution. He sent a telegram to Nasir-ud Din, the Shah of Iran, and asked him to correspond with the English government to ascertain the reason for such a massacre. Upon

receipt of this telegram, the Shah expressed his concern to the English representative stationed in Tehran who transmitted it to the Viceroy of India. When he received this letter, the Viceroy inquired from Amir about his actions against Hazaras.[198]

A certain amount of emotion still exists surrounding the ill treatment of the Shias by the Afghan authorities, though the severe measures have been lessened, if not entirely discontinued. Amir replied on October 26, 1892, to the Viceroy of India's letter on the subject. He wrote to the effect that the agitation was due to the Russian instigation and the mischievous preaching of Persian (Hazara) Mullas, heightened by the exaggerations of Shia (Hazara) refugees. He objected to the Shah's interference, and maintained his right to his own subjects, saying he did not complain when the Shah punished any of His Majesty's Sunni subjects: "If the Shah entertains a thought of interfering with the subjects of Afghanistan, the Sunnis of Afghanistan will render good account of the matter without aid from the Sunnis of Turkey." Amir added that the Hazara rebellion was fomented by the Mujtahids of Mashhad, instigated by well wishers of Russia, and that some of the Qizilbash of Qandahar and Herat were the chief agents in the movement. Under these circumstances, he gave instructions for the punishment of his rebellious Shia subjects by death, imprisonment or banishment according to their deserts.

About the middle of November 1892, the Shah sent a message to Her Majesty's (Queen of England) Minister that a great number of Afghans (Hazaras) were on their way to Tehran to ask for His Majesty's protection; he expressed a hope that steps might be taken to induce the Amir to stop the persecution of the Shia subjects and the issue of anti-Shia proclamations. The government of India had decided that it was not desirable to make any further communication with Amir at present.[199]

The Hazara elders of Ghazni wrote to the Mujtahid at Mashhad to pray for them so that God may save them from Afghan's oppression and cruelty.[200]

Like the English, the Russians were of no help to the Hazaras. On December 9, 1892, Mohammad Amir Beg Ilkhani, a Hazara chief, was in constant communication with the Russians for help against Amir. In answer to the petition of the Hazara chiefs, the Russian Consul-General in Mashhad, Iran, on December 20, 1892, replied that his government could do nothing for them.[201]

References

1. Wheeler, The Amir: 159
2. Kakar, Afghanistan: 159
3. Sultan, Life of Amir: 276
4. Kakar, Afghanistan: 171
5. Frohlich, Nationalismus: 181
6. Kakar, Newsletter 3(1): 25-29
7. McChesney, A Review: 5-7
8. Secret Letters, 27: 1615
9. Faiz: 391
10. Ibid: 663:
    Secret Letters, 31: 729
11. Secret Letters, 37: 52
12. Faiz: 596
13. Ibid: 605
14. Secret Letters, 55: 134
15. Fiaz: 607-609
16. Ibid: 379
17. Ibid: 398
18. Ibid: 431
19. Ibid: 431
20. Ibid: 500-501
21. Ibid: 515
22. Ibid: 533-534
23. Kakar, Afghanistan: 161
24. Faiz: 540-541
25. Ibid: 658-659
26. Sultan, Life of Amir: 278
27. Sykes, Afghanistan: 192
28. Faiz: 380
29. Ibid: 380
30. Gaz. of Afghanistan: 278-279
31. Kakar, Afghanistan: 161
32. Faiz: 409
33. Ibid: 472
34. Ibid: 528
35. Ibid: 540
36. Ibid: 540
37. Ibid: 541
38. Kakar, Afghanistan: 125, 130
39. Leech, Supp. Account, 14: 330
40. Secret Letters, 5: 630
41. Kakar, Afghanistan: 130
42. Faiz: 439
43. Ibid: 523
44. Ibid: 538
45. Ibid: 535-536
46. Ibid: 399
47. Ibid: 385
48. Ibid: 543
49. Ibid: 571
50. Ibid: 701
51. Ibid: 641-643
52. Secret Letters, 59: 840
53. Faiz: 695
54. Kakar, Afghanistan: 154
55. Faiz: 695
56. Ibid: 698
57. Ibid: 711
58. Ibid: 715-717
59. Ibid: 582-583
60. Ibid: 583
61. Secret Letters, 74:547
62. Faiz: 710
63. Ibid: 727-729;
    Sultan, The Amir: 279
64. Faiz: 730
65. Ibid: 730
66. Hamilton,
    Vizier's Daughter: 50-51
67. Ibid: 59-62
68. Ibid: 62-63
69. Ibid: 63
70. Ibid: 22
71. Ibid: 26
72. Ibid: 64
73. Faiz: 735
74. Sultan, The Amir: 279
75. Ibid: 279
76. Faiz: 735
77. Ibid: 735
78. Sultan, The Amir: 280
79. Faiz: 717
80. Ibid: 761-762
81. Kakar, Afghanistan: 168
82. Faiz: 714-715
83. Ibid: 731
84. Ibid: 732
85. Ibid: 732
86. Ibid: 775
87. Ibid: 734-735
88. Ibid: 773
89. Ibid: 776-779

90. Ibid: 737
91. Ibid: 782
92. Ibid: 785
93. Times, The London / Reuter, 23 August 1891
94. Faiz: 779-780
95. Secret Letters, 68: 828
96. Faiz: 781
97. Ibid: 788-790
98. Ibid: 785-789
99. Ibid: 807-809
100. Ibid: 738
101. Ibid: 738
102. Ibid: 739
103. Ibid: 740
104. Ibid: 745
105. Secret Letters, 66: 1104
106. Faiz: 761
107. Ibid: 761
108. Kakar, Hazaras Pacification: 4
109. Secret Letters, 74: 547
110. Faiz: 774
111. Ibid: 773
112. Ibid: 774
113. Times, The London, September 16, 1891
114. Faiz: 774
115. Sultan, The Amir: 280
116. Faiz: 774
117. Times, The London August 2, 1892
118. Faiz: 812
119. Ibid: 812
120. Ibid: 813
121. Secret Letters, 74: 548
122. Faiz: 819-820
123. Ibid: 780
124. Ibid: 820-822
125. Ibid: 806-807
126. Ibid: 808
127. Ibid: 808-809
128. Ibid: 801
129. Ibid: 806
130. Times, The London September 1, 1892
131. Faiz: 807
132. Ibid: 822
133. Times, The London October 3, 1892
134. Ibid, October 6, 1892
135. Secret Letters, 74: 548-549
136. Faiz: 822
137. Ibid: 824
138. Ibid: 826
139. Ibid: 822
140. Ibid: 828
141. Ibid: 829
142. Ibid: 830
143. Ibid: 830-831
144. Ibid: 831
145. Ibid: 834
146. Ibid: 845
147. Ibid: 862
148. Ibid: 862, 867, 876
149. Ibid: 876-879
150. Ibid: 887-888
151. Ibid: 889
152. Ibid: 890
153. Ibid: 890-891
154. Ibid: 891-892
155. Times, The London May 6, 1892
156. Faiz: 893
157. Times, The London May 6, 1892
158. Faiz: 893
159. Ibid: 898
160. Ibid: 903
161. Ibid: 904
162. Ibid: 908
163. Ibid: 909-915
164. Ibid: 916
165. Times, The London June 26, 1893
166. Sultan, Life of Amir: 162
167. Wheeler, The Amir: 162
168. Times, The London September 14, 1893 Secret Letters, 72: 257
169. Kakar, Hazaras Pacification: 8-10
170. Secret Letters, 73: 1228
171. Tate, The Kingdom: 192-193
172. Wheeler, The Amir: 160-161
173. Faiz: 806

174. Ibid: 851
175. Ibid: 806
176. Ibid: 812
177. Ibid: 898
178. Ibid: 944
179. Ibid: 996
180. Ibid: 760-761
181. Ibid: 733
182. Ibid: 739-740
183. Ibid: 761
184. Ibid: 867
185. Ibid: 878
186. Ibid: 919
187. Ibid: 938
188. Ibid: 1132
189. Ibid: 1213
190. Ibid: 688-689
191. Ibid: 731
192. Ibid: 829
193. Ibid: 1036
194. Ibid: 1065
195. Ibid: 1194
196. Ibid: 1208
197. Ibid: 1118
198. Ibid: 1035
199. Secret Letters, 68: 827
200. Faiz: 1172
201. Secret Letters, 48: 94

7

Hazaras Slavery

The practice of slavery, an evil which has existed throughout human history, has left its scars on the people of Afghanistan. For centuries Afghanistan was the center of slavery and a good source of continuous supply. While the regions of Hazarajat and Chitral served as the "Western Africa" of Central Asia, the markets of Kabul, Herat, Qunduz and Qandahar were no less than the slave markets of Havana. Slavery flourished in Afghanistan until the 1920's when the whole world except Saudi Arabia and Yaman adhered to the abolition of slavery.[1]

Islam, like Judaism and Christianity, has not preached the abolition of slavery, but its teachings dealt a blow at the institution of slavery. One may ask, then, why the institution of slavery existed in the presence of Islamic teachings. The prominent Muslim scholar, Amir Ali, gives the following explanation for the continuation of slavery in Muslim world. According to him:

> "Had it not been for the deep root it had taken among the surrounding nations and the natural obliguity of the human mind, [slavery] would have been completely extinguished as

> soon as the generation which then practiced it had passed away. It has been justly contended that, as the promulgation of the laws, precepts, and teachings of Islam extended over twenty years, it is naturally to be expected that many of the pre-Islamic institutions, which were eventually abolished, were at first, either tacitly permitted or expressly recognized. In one of these categories stood the usage of slavery. The evil was intertwined with the inmost relations of the people among whom Mohammad flourished. Its extinction was only to be achieved by the continued agency of wise and humane laws, and not by the sudden and entire emancipation of the existing slaves, which was morally and economically impossible. Numberless provisions, negative as well as positive, were accordingly introduced in order to promote and accomplish a gradual enfranchisement. A contrary policy would have produced an utter collapse of the infant Commonwealth."[2]

Slavery is against the voice which proclaimed liberty, equality and universal brotherhood among all mankind.[3] The Prophet exhorted his followers repeatedly in the name of God to enfranchise slaves, "than which there was no act more acceptable to God." He ordered that slaves should be allowed to purchase their liberty by the wages of their services. He placed the duty of kindness towards the slave on the same footing with the claims of "kindred and neighbors and fellow-travellers and wayfarers," encouraged manumission to the freest extent and therewith the gift of "a portion of that wealth which God hath given you"; and prohibited sensual uses of a master's power over the slave, with the promise of divine mercy to the wronged. Thus, the whole tenor of Mohammad's teaching made "permanent chattlehood" or caste impossible.[4] From the Prophet's teachings it became clear that the legislator himself looked upon the custom as temporary, and held that its extinction was sure to be achieved by the progress of ideas and change of circumstances.[5]

Unfortunately, with the death of Mohammad, the Muslim world was ruled by a succession of caliphs who failed to fulfill the noble wishes of the Prophet. When the wars with foreign powers declined, the numbers of captive slaves reduced. With such decline a new phenomenon appeared in the Muslim world, that is, slavery by purchase. Islam recognizes only one kind of slavery - the servitude of man-made captives in bonafide and lawful warfare, Jihad-i Shar'i. Thus, the possession of a slave, by the Quranic laws, was conditioned

on a bonafide struggle, in self-defense, against unbelieving and idolatrous aggressors, and its permission was a guarantee for the safety and preservation of the captives.[6] Slavery by purchase was unknown during the reign of the first four caliphs. However, with the accession of the Sunni Umayids and Abbasid caliphs, the slave business flourished. Muawiya, the first Umayid caliph, introduced the institution of slavery by purchase.[7] In contrast to such official government encouragements, the Shia Imams (the immediate descendents of the Prophet) preached against slavery.[8]

For a long time, slaves were brought to the Muslim world from Africa, Europe and Asia. With a further decline in slave supply, the slave traders adopted a new technique, i.e., raiding and man-stealing within the Muslim world. This is especially true for the rulers of Central Asian Khanats. For centuries, these rulers who utterly ignored the Prophet's teachings, captured free-borne Muslims and sold them in the markets of the Middle East as infidels and non-believers.

The intense persecution of Shias by Sunnis, who treated them as a "race of heretics that were worse than infidels" and even sold Shias "like beasts in the marketplace" as slaves, is recorded by historians.[9] Being Sunnis, they treated the Shias as non-believers, they raided and captured them in bondage. Their main targets were the Shia Persians of Khurasan and the Shias of Hazarajat.

The Hazaras were attacked and captured repeatedly by the Turkmans of Central Asia, and supplied slaves for the markets of Samarkand, Bokhara, Tashkand, and Khokand. While they obtained most of their Hazara slaves through plunder and attack on Hazara villages, they were also able to obtain them through the cooperation of some Hazara feudal lords. This is especially true for the weak rulers of the northern Hazarajat who were subjugated by the powerful Uzbek rulers of the north. They imposed taxes on these Hazara chiefs and demanded that they pay their tribute in terms of slaves. To pay such an inhumane tribute, the Hazara villagers joined together and furnished one of their members as a slave.[10] When a significant number of slaves were collected from the villages, they were chained and were sent to the Uzbek ruler in the north. Wood, who witnessed one such slave party, described it:

> "At Sykan [Saighan] we met a man of Deh Kundi tribe, bringing part of the yearly slave tribute to Kunduz. The able bodied slaves were chained together, the aged, who were too infirm to walk, rode on donkeys, and behind them were bound children, whose extreme youth rendered them happily unconscious of the home they had left and the liberty they had lost. They, all of them, were squalid and dirty, and the ragged pieces of clothing that hung from their shoulders were but a poor substitute for covering. One haggard old woman, on whose lineaments time had traced many a wrinkle, presented an appearance scarcely human; she was a humiliating sight."[11]

The Hazara reduction to slavery by their Uzbek neighbors was not only triggered by its profitable nature, but also by their differences in religious belief. The Hazaras, being Shias, were subjected to persecution by their Sunni neighbors. The Uzbeks of the north considered the persecution of the Shias as the best evidence of their sincerity of their faith and their attachment to the Prophet.[12] They were considered to be infidel Hindus, and it was considered an act of merit to sell a Shia into slavery.[13] The Uzbek slave traders had the full backing of their religious and spiritual leaders. These Mullas or priests, in Wood's words, "were the most notorious slave dealers in the land, and encouraged the odious traffic among their disciples by readily purchasing of them whatever victims of the Shia creed they may entrap. Religion became a cloak to crime instead of a guide to virtue."[14]

In order to justify their slave trade, the Uzbek rulers had to win the cooperation of the religious leaders. In this case they had no difficulties as these Mullas were already in the business. One of the most respected religious leaders of the Uzbeks was Ihsan Khoja, who became the main figure in slave trading. These Mullas gave a religious color to the slave trade and encouraged their followers to raid the Shia villages and capture their inhabitants. Vanbery described one such raid:

> "Custom has raised their detestable occupation as a Djihad, or religious war, against the Shiite schismatics, who are declared to be no better than infidels. As the heroes set out on their adventure they are publicly dismissed with the blessings of the ministers of their religion; and in the case of any one of them paying with his life for his enormities [which very seldom occurs], he is at home declared to be a martyr, a mound of earth adorned with flags is heaped over his remains, and the devout make pilgrimage to the holy place, where they

implore with tears of contrition the intercession of the connonised robber."[15]

Among the rulers in the north, the most active was Prince Murad Beg of Kunduz. He lead his troops in raiding the Hazara villages in the south (Hazarajat) and in the east (Chitral).[16] He led his troops in search of slaves deep into the region of Dai Zangi. There was much demand for the Hazara slaves: they were especially valued for their physical strength as they were athletic, robust and powerful. Because of these qualities, several thousand Hazara slaves were sold in the markets of Central Asia each year.[17] By such traffic, Murad Beg accumulated a treasure of one crore (approximately 10 million) of rupees.[18]

Besides the tribute paid by the petty Hazara chiefs from the original raids on Hazara villages, the inter-tribal warfare among Hazaras was also a good source of supply of slaves. When a weaker Hazara chief was defeated and his land captured by the stronger chief, he and his tribe would take refuge in a nearby Uzbek fortress. The Uzbek ruler in return would sell all the Hazaras to the slave merchants. One such example was provided by Harlan who described the tragedy:

> "Soofy Beg, who held the fortress and district of Derrah-e-Esoff, a frontier possession bordering the Hazarrah country, has been known to exchange his guests for horses with Uzbek slave dealers. Three hundred families of Meer Mohib's tribe, a Hazarrah chief of Yak Aolang, succeeded from his authority and placed themselves under the protection of Soofy Beg. Their numbers exciting the Beg's apprehensions he caused them to be disarmed, upon the allegation of treasonable practices. Subsequently, many of them were disposed of like a flock of stray sheep, and were carried away by the slave traders of Mawar-al-Nehar."[19]

The Uzbeks, who gained the reputation of being merciless robbers, treated their captives like animals. They did not spare even the older women or the infant children, and sold them for a few rupees. Thus, the slavery among the Uzbeks existed in a barbarous form; the cruel natured Uzbeks added to the horrors of the inhumane slave traffic. Many of their slaves died on their way to the slave markets because of hunger, cold weather and physical abuse. Their cruelty became proverbial among Hazaras, who say, "The mercy of an Uzbek is equivalent to the anger of an Afghan."[20]

While many of the Hazara villagers in the north were living in terror because of the Uzbek raids, the Hazaras of southern and eastern Hazarajat were equally terrorized by the Afghan slave merchants. The markets of Kabul were full of Hazara slaves brought by the Uzbek traders. Knowing that slavery is an inhumane and shamefull act, these Afghan slave merchants, instead of going to Kabul, diverted their merchandise to the markets of Balkh, Qunduz, and Bokhara in the north. Wood, on his way to Bokhara, met such an Afghan slave trader and described the event:

> "In the Khurm valley [Kunduz] we overtook another slave party from the Hazara country. The owners, to the astonishment of our party, were men of Kabul. They appeared greatly mortified at being seen by us, hung down their heads, and wished, but in vain, to escape notice. The Khirkushes recognized them as inhabitants of Chardeh, a plain in the vicinity of Kabul, and at once charged them with carrying on a traffic, as degrading to an Afghan as it is accounted honourable to an Uzbek. They were asked how they could face their clansmen after such disreputable conduct. In extenuation of their conduct, they stated that after trading to a considerable extent with the Hazaras, and waiting twelve months for a settlement of their claims, they had been able to obtain payment as slaves, valued at its full amount, offered in lieu of all claims. Unable after such a description of compromise to return direct to their own country, they were now proceeding to the Uzbek mert of the Khurm or Tash Kurghan, there to realize by sale of the proceeds of this discreditable barter."[21]

Generally, the country between Kabul and the Oxus, in the early 19th century, was in a lawless state; slavery had been reported to be as rife as ever and extended to Hazarajat, Badakhshan, Wakhan, Sar-e Kul, and Kunjit.[22] The slaves in Afghanistan were chiefly Hazaras and the Afghans considered it as lawful to buy and sell them as Negroes.[23]

The Uzbek robbers would have captured the Hazaras on the basis of religious differences and would sell them as infidels. They considered the robbery of human beings so indispensible a means of livelihood as to deem their existence in the steppes impossible, if they were to be deprived of this productive source of wealth. As other nations talk about "the prospects of a good harvest," so they talk about "the prospects of open roads to the south [Hazarajat]." During the

periods of scarcity of a Shia or a Hazara slave, these Uzbek would capture their own kind and sell them as infidels. In order not to break the letter of their Prophet's commandments they forced their Sunni captive to acknowledge himself as a heretic.[24]

For a long time, the Hazaras faced the Uzbeks and Turkmans of the north, and had relatively fewer worries from the south. But as time passed, the Afghans became stronger and encroached at the southern and southeastern borders of Hazarajat. With this development, the Hazaras faced a new breed of slave-traders, the Afghans. While the Uzbeks and Turkmans obtained their slaves through raiding and plundering the Hazara villages, the Afghans adopted a more sophisticated method, i.e., offering credit. The poor Hazara who borrowed commodities from an Afghan merchant, was never able to repay them, and in a few years the interest on those loans became so high that the Afghan demanded a member of the Hazara's family as repayment of the debt. In this manner, the Afghan merchant collected his slaves and sold them in the more profitable markets of Central Asia.

Not only Afghan merchants benefitted from the slave trade, but the Afghan rulers of Kabul also benefitted. Slavery was in its full swing during the reign of Amir Dost Mohammad Khan. Harlan had explained the picture of slavery during Amir's time:

> "It was amusing to hear the Ameer of Cabul declaim with apparent feeling upon the subject of abuses in the system of Tatar [Hazaras] slavery. On these occasions he expressed with considerable eloquence the sufferings of persons now slaves who had been born free, the rupture of social bonds in changing hands, the parental anguish and the violation of filial attachments, the cruelty of proprietors, and the innumerable miseries of their conditions. All these incidents obstensibly existing unfeigned commiseration, while a large number of the personal attendants then present were slaves, many born of free parents and all Mohammadans, but devotees of the Persian Schism. Hundreds of these Hazarahs subjects to his sway are annually disposed of in his city of Cabul, a duty paid to government upon their price."[25]

Such was the practice of Afghan rulers of Kabul who on one hand abhore slavery, but on the other hand liquidate the demand of revenue by clandestine man selling.[26] This practice continued at a low profile until the last quarter of the 19th century, when Abdur Rahman became the ruler of Kabul. Slavery reached a high degree, higher than had ever

before been recorded in Afghan history. While his predecessors practiced slavery on a limited scale, and at the same time abhorred slavery, Abdur Rahman legalized the enslaving of Hazaras and filled his treasury from the sale of tens of thousands of Hazara men, women, and children. He realized that he could not, according to Islamic teachings, capture and enslave the free-born Muslim Hazaras; therefore, he declared them first as infidels and then legalized the sale and purchase of Hazaras as slaves.

After the Hazaras lost their War of Independence, they faced the most disgraceful consequence--slavery in the hands of Afghans. The Hazaras of border regions of Hazarajat had suffered and were enslaved in the past by their Afghan and Uzbek neighbors, yet the Hazaras living in the central regions were introduced to slavery for the first time. Even for the people of the bordering regions, slavery introduced by Afghans was of a different nature. While Uzbek slavery was solely dependent upon the enslaving of the common Hazaras, the Afghans did not excuse the noblemen like the Mirs, Maliks, Sayeds, Mullas, and the village elders. Both the Mirs and the commoners were sold in the market and their wives and children were sold and distributed among the soldiers. In short, the whole Hazara nation was turned into slaves.

During the three years of the war of independence (1891-1893), much of the Hazara adult male population was either killed or captured and sold by the Afghans. Therefore, many of the prisoners of war consisted of women and children. Here and there some male servants of Khans and Mirs could also be found among the prisoners, as well as old and sick men. The Afghans took their revenge by enslaving the Hazaras and subjecting them to repeated physical and mental abuses. Many Hazara men, women and children were captured in their sleep by attacking their villages in the early morning hours.[27] The captured Hazaras were further shocked when they were told by the Afghan soldiers that they were, from now on, the slaves of Amir and had to march to Kabul.[28] They faced another shock when they started the long march by foot towards the slave markets of Kabul and other towns of Afghanistan. Their arrival at Kabul and other towns did not end the series of psychological abuses which began at their villages. They were put into the filthy, stinking and overcrowded jails in Kabul to accommodate the tens of thousands of Hazara slaves. After the initial few months when the Hazaras were sold in large numbers, soon there were no masters to be found for all the captured

Hazara slaves.[29] The conditions of the jailed Hazaras further deteriorated, and soon the Afghan jails turned into a scene of squirming and suffocating humanity for whom no one raised his voice.

While we have little knowledge of the prison and sale conditions of the Hazaras, we do know something about the process of enslavement and the Hazaras' long death marches toward Afghan slave markets. Much of this information comes from Dr. Lilian Hamilton (the female physician in the court of Amir Abdur Rahman), Faiz Mohammad (the Hazara historian), and from the correspondence of the British agents in Afghanistan. Among these, Lady Hamilton's observations were the result of her direct contact with Hazara slave girls and thus gives a much better picture of those terrible years of Hazara history.

For example, according to Hamilton, the Afghans would attack the Hazara village which was wrapped in sleep and knock on the door of its inhabitants. She further tells us about the conversation of an Afghan soldier and a Hazara girl:

> "Here, open the door!' a rough voice called out. 'Ho there, are you all asleep?' 'Who's there at this time of night making so much noise?' the girl said sleepily. 'You can't come in unless. . .' correcting herself hurriedly . . . 'Is there anything wrong and you want something?' 'Aye, we do want something and that something we will have; and if you don't open to us quickly, we will pull down your house over your heads and bury you in its ruins. Do you understand me?' and he commenced hammering at the door with the butt end of his gun."[30]

This was a typical scene which was repeated in almost every Hazara village. There was no opposition and no physical resistance. The Afghan soldiers only arrested women and children, and all were awakened from their sleep. This sudden shock confused each member of the family, especially the children, who would not stop crying; their mothers could not comfort them as they were driven out of their houses by the shouting Afghan soldiers.[31]

Once they were driven out of their homes, they were ordered to assemble in the center of the village. While the inhabitants were trembling outside their belongings were looted by the soldiers. Hamilton sketches the scene:

> "The scene outside was one never to be forgotten. With the dawn which was now breaking, the storm had lulled somewhat, and before her, as far as she could see, were figures moving in the dim morning light . . figures chiefly of women and children, driven and hustled by the soldiers, first here, then there. They were standing huddled together against a wall; neither had put on their boots, and were very lightly clad. They had been torn, and many others were in a still more pitiable condition. In all that great seething crowd it was almost impossible to find anyone. Oh, such a wailing and crying, such sobs and much despair! But it was the weeping of the children, the crowds of half-clad sleepy girls exposed to the night wind. Then suddenly the order was given to march, and the whole crowd was driven down the hill and on the way to Cabul."[32]

After these innocent women and children were collected and their villages looted and burned, they were ordered to march. No means of transportation was available for the prisoners. They were thus dragged by the hundreds in long death marches lasting several days in cold and heat and without drink or food. There were no roads--only the pathway that had been made by the trampling of many feet for many years--but there they were, these hundreds of human beings, driven like so many sheep along a sheep track.[33] Exhaustion, starvation, thirst, and the death of young children and the older men and women accounted for thousands of victims during these death marches. Every Hazara village had horses and ponies. When the women hesitated to walk on foot and demanded that they should be allowed to ride their animals, they were told by the soldiers:

> "The ponies? Oh, don't you trouble about those, my good woman. We will take good care of them,' the soldier said, laughing. 'You did not think you were going to ride to Cabul, did you? But make haste, or I shall have to help you with a stick. There goes the call. Come, march!"[34]

Leaving their villages aflame, these unfortunate people started their march towards the towns of Afghanistan. This was not a happy and gay crowd, but consisted of wailing and sobbing women and children. Hamilton described one of the marching parties:

> "But what a dreary weary trail of human beings! A few men-servants and field labourers who had been left behind when the rest of the men had been called off to take part in the war were to be seen here and there, but the great bulk of all that crowd consisted of women and children who, now that they had got well on the road, marched for the most part in silence, except where a child's wail or fretful cry of an infant

made itself heard. 'my feet, my feet, they are getting all cut, I can't walk on these stones barefooted,' a woman kept crying bitterly. And where are my children? Will no one find my children and my mother?"[35]

But there was no one to listen to the cries and the sobbing of these wearisome crowds now marching barefoot on the buring stones. These marching groups of captives were different than the ones seen on the west coast of Africa. While the African native was surrounded by the European slave merchants, the Hazara captives were surrounded by the soldiers of Amir of Kabul. On the other hand, while the majority of African captives consisted of adult men and women,[36] the majority of Hazara captives were women and children. They were not supplied with food by their captive soldiers. Hungry mothers could not nurse their young babies, and a large number of children perished during these death marches. The only edible items available were the fallen mulberries which they ate when the soldiers stopped to eat their lunch. Because of hunger and thirst, the children ate so many mulberries that many became sick; their cries kept the motley crowd awake all through the night. Many adult prisoners became ill through starvation, humiliation and the long tiresome journey. By the time they reached the camp, many children died of sickness. After the whole day marching, they were allowed to rest in a village and were tightly squeezed into small rooms.[37]

The next day, the hungry and exhausted crowd was again ordered to march towards its final destination. After a long march of several days, they finally reached the Afghan army camps and rested for a few days. On the arrival of these crowds, their members were nothing but a mass of uprooted people, undernourished and undermined in health. Hamilton described the arrival of one such group into the Afghan camp:

"A motley crowd indeed had set out from the village among the Hazara hills, but it was an emaciated, haggard, exhausted crowd that came into camp that evening. Some of the older women, on the excuse of remaining with the children who could drag their weary limbs no further, had begged to stay behind and watch their little ones die, promising to rejoin the party as soon as the last struggle should be over; and the soldiers had let them stay, partly under the firm conviction that, like the little ones whose death was inevitable, these feeble old bodies would never reach their destination; and

partly also because they knew that as slaves their market value would be absolutely nil. But if the oldest of the party had dropped out from among the ranks and were sitting by the roadside in the last state of exhaustion, others seemed somehow to have taken their places in the most extraordinary way. The middle-aged women, many of whom had been stout and well built, if not comely, when they had set out were now mere shadows, their tanned and wrinkled skins hanging in folds across their but too apparent bones. Even the young women looked twice their age, and many were worn with grief as well as suffering."[38]

During the stop at the army camp, the officers selected the young girls for themselves; some had one or two, the others even half-dozen and the rest were allowed to march to Kabul.[39] When they arrived at Kabul, they were transferred to the crowded prison. The extremely poor conditions of health and hygiene in these prisons, continuous starvation and the soldiers' brutality, aided the spread of disease, and epidemics. Just in one camp in Qandahar, out of 619 persons 292 died of hunger, disease and cold.[40]

On their arrival the merchants of Kabul and surrounding towns rushed to these prisons to get the best for their money. When a prospective buyer wanted to see the women, the soldiers would order them to smooth their hair and make themselves look as tidy as they could.[41] After the sale was finalized, the soldiers would tell them what they were to do and then obey it. Only when mothers and daughters were parted was there wailing and sobbing, and sometimes an effort on the mother's part to go with the daughter.[42] Sometimes, when a girl resisted to leave the prison and go with her new master, she was forced by soldiers by beating her with heavy sticks, leaving wounds for several days.[43] It was a great shock for the Hazara women and children to see the Afghan crowds assemble in front of Kabul prisons, manhandling the slaves and throwing them into panic. Certainly their experience was not less than the experience of prisoners from Africa when they were sold in the West Indies.[44]

The earlier groups of Hazara prisoners consisted exclusively of women and children. But as the Afghan armies penetrated deep in the heart of Hazarajat and defeated the Hazara tribes one by one, subsequent arrivals of Hazara prisoners were male Hazaras captured after the war. While the Hazara women and girls were sold through public auction,[45] the Hazara men were sold individually. At the end of

the war, Amir Abdur Rahman distributed the Hazara girls as slaves to his generals and officers.[46] The most beautiful, and especially the daughters of notable Hazaras, were held in the royal court for Amir's personal harem.[47]

When Amir Abdur Rahman ordered the Hazara men captured and killed and their women sold as slaves,[48] the whole Afghan nation became involved in the slave business. Kabul, Qandahar, Mazar-e Sharif and Herat turned into slave markets. The Afghan officials and soldiers played a great role in supplying slaves to these markets. After getting approval from their superiors, the Afghan soldiers captured the crying and struggling Hazara boys and girls and sold them for 50 or 100 rupees. When such news spread in the neighboring areas, Afghan merchants came to Hazarajat from Qandahar, Qalat, Ghazni, Kabul, Turkistan and Herat and bought thousand of boys, girls and women from these soldiers.[49]

One of the ways of obtaining the Hazara children by these soldiers was to attack the Hazara villages and snatch the Hazara infants from their mothers. They would beat these children and demand from their parents that they show them where they had hidden their valuables, otherwise, they would kill their children.[50] These poor Hazaras, whose only wealth was their few animals and a standing crop which were already confiscated and burned by the Afghan soldiers, could not tell the Afghans about their hidden valuables, and consequently the soldiers took the children and sold them to merchants. On the other hand, they snatched married women at gun point from their husbands, declaring that they had bought these women. Not only the soldiers but also high officials were involved in this practice. One of Amir's favorite officers, Colonel Farhad Khan, was busy in search of young and beautiful women in Hazarajat. Once he received the news that a certain Hazara village had beautiful women, he would go there and arrest the men in lieu of obtaining and collecting their arms and capture their wives. He either sent them to his superior in provincial capitals or held them for his own sexual pleasure.[51] Even higher officials, like General Sher Mohammad Khan, commander of Afghan forces stationed in Uruzgan, was busy arresting children and women, and delivering them to the cities as slaves.[52]

Following their capture, the Hazara prisoners were continuously tortured both in their death marches as well as in the prisons. The basic technique everywhere was the same; starvation, fatigue, the deliberate infliction of various forms of torture upon incoming prisoners. The

Afghan soldiers were not only encouraged to practice such brutalities, but they were ordered to do so. Hazara prisoners faced great humiliation during their captivity. For example, a group of 400 men, women and children were brought to Qandahar for sale under tribal escort. Chains were sent out from Qandahar so that the Hazaras would be seen entering the city in felters, and the escort received orders to beat and abuse them as they passed through the bazar.[53]

After having lost their war of independence and losing their families, nothing but blind obedience could have been expected of these unfortunate prisoners. Any show of bravado, any heroics, any kind of resistance condemned that person instantly. Thus, they followed whatever they were told by their captives. Nevertheless, there were persons who had the energy and ability to escape, individually or in groups. As Afghanistan was not a safe place for them, they crossed the international boundaries and fled to Iran and British India. Those who were left behind had to face a great challenge: to reserve themselves and their families. In order to achieve such a desire, the Hazara nation paid for it with extreme suffering and humiliation.

The slave business was so profitable that Amir started demanding that his commanders in Hazarajat send more prisoners. On receiving such orders, tens of thousands of Hazara men, women and children were sent to Kabul. These prisoners came from Dai Zangi, Uruzgan, Yak Aolang, Besud, Panjab, Sar-e Jangal, Jaghuri, Qalandar, Ashtarlai, Hujristan, Dai Kundi, Malistan, Shirdagh and Bobash.[54]

The sale of Hazaras in the open markets of Afghanistan contributed a large sum to the royal treasury. In Kabul, according to Amir's order, every prisoner was sold at Rs. 120 per head and the money was deposited in the royal treasury.[55] Amir also sent orders throughout the country that whoever was involved in selling and buying the Hazara prisoners should pay the taxes to the royal treasury. After the issuance of such orders, from Qandahar town alone, where a single woman or girl was sold for 100 or 120 rupees, the tax money reached a record 70,000 rupees which were sent to the royal treasury.[56]

The Afghan soldiers were so encouraged by Amir's orders that they travelled to far places in Hazarajat in search of the Hazaras. They usually captured the woman, and if a relative of that woman asked the Afghan soldier for justice, the soldier would bring two of his colleagues as witnesses that he purchased that woman. In this fashion, thousands of Hazara women and girls were sold to the slave merchants

and to the Afghan nomads.[57] The Hazara women who could not be sold because of their age, were sent back to their homes in Hazarajat.[58] It was obvious that these old women could never reach their destination and would die on their way because of weakness and starvation.

The war was followed by great famine. The Hazaras had nothing to eat as their crops were set on fire and their food stock was destroyed by the Afghan soldiers. These soldiers took further advantage of the situation. They offered the Hazaras food on the condition that they, in return, give them their children. Having no food and seeing the death of their children due to starvation, they preferred to offer their children to the soldiers. They were forced to sell their children for as little as 10 seers of barley or wheat. A great business started, and every soldier who was going back home on leave would take a few slaves from Hazarajat and sell them to the merchants.[59] After selling some of their prisoners, they would send the rest back home to their relatives.[60] They were also seizing those Hazaras who, because of starvation, came down to Qandahar in search of employment. They were captured by these soldiers, claimed them as slaves and treated them as such. As their actions were approved from the high officials, no attention was paid to the complaints of the aggrieved Hazaras.[61]

The religious leaders of Afghanistan were backing such an inhumane act. They cooperated with Amir to declare the Hazaras as infidels and later permitted the enslaving of the Hazaras. As a matter of fact, the Afghan Mullas were actively participating in selling and buying the Hazara prisoners. They exactly followed the steps of their Uzbek brothers who had left behind terrible memories. One of Amir's favorite religious leaders was Mulla Khwaja Mohammad Khan. After the occupation of Uruzgan, he was appointed as the head of religious affairs in that region. He sold 1,293 women and children under his own supervison, and sent 1940-1/2 rupees to the royal treasury.[62] As the government officials had more direct involvement in this business, these religious and spiritual leaders in the provinces would ask their fellow officers to send them female slaves.[63] There was a great competition for beautiful young Hazara girls, and frequently a quarrel was witnessed between the civil servants and these Mullas.[64]

When Hazarajat was occupied, there was not a single competent Afghan official who could take the responsibility of the economic affairs of Hazarajat, and therefore Amir had to appoint a Hindu, Divan Naranjan Das, to manage the affairs of Hazarajat.[65]

For a while, the Hindu communities did not participate in the slave

business. They thought it might create a religious antagonistic feeling among the Afghans. However, when they saw that both the state officials and clergymen were actively involved in the business, they also came in the picture, especially the Hindus of Qandahar who bought many Hazara children six to eight years of age. The Hindus were buying the Hazara women and children from the Afghan nomads and soldiers and selling them in Quetta, Sind and other parts of India.[66]

When the Afghan slave merchants found that Hindus were entering into their profitable business, and feared that they might dominate them in their business, they approached their religious leaders to stop them. The Qazi of Qandahar ordered these Hindu merchants to stop their business and to pay the government a fine of 3,500 rupees each. This was a large sum to be paid by Hindus; thus, the Afghan officials effectively stopped the Hindus from benefitting from this business. When this news reached Amir, he issued an order that, being a subject sect according to Islamic rules, they could not sell or buy Muslim children. And as they had violated the rule, they would pay an additional fine of 14,000 rupees.[67]

At the end of the war, the Hazara prisoners were sold in such a great number that there were hardly any people who didn't have one or two slaves.[68] Soon the demand for slaves diminished, but the supply was increasing every day. This was a ripe time for the Afghan nomads, who used to sell their merchandise in British India, to enter the slave trade. They knew where the slaves could be sold. They brought their merchandise to the hills of Baluchistan where the Marri Baluch tribes were dwelling. Slavery had been a traditional aspect of Baluch social organization, so the Hazaras were sold at a high price by the nomads.[69] Besides the nomads, the western neighbors of the Hazaras, the Ferozkohis, were also busy buying and selling slaves. They sold their prisoners in the markets of Bokhara and other Central Asian capitals.[70] When the news of a booming slave business in Afghanistan reached in the neighboring countries, they also wished to share in booty. For example, Baluch tribesmen from Baluchistan crossed the border and purchased a large number of Hazara women and children in Qandahar. When this news reached Kabul, Amir worried that it might create unfavorable publicity on the internatinal scene. He therefore ordered that no Hazara be sold to nationals of foreign origin nor taken outside of Afghanistan.[71]

It is interesting to note that while the whole country and the whole

Afghan nation was busy selling and buying the Hazara prisoners under the direct patronage of state and religious leaders, there were also some men of clear conscience. A group of three Afghan clergymen--Mulla Mohammad Saeed, the Qazi, Mulla Fazal Mohammad, the Mufti; and Mulla Abdus Salam, the Muharar-e Sharia of Jaghuri Hazara--wrote to Amir about the cruelty and the unholy business:

> "Because Hazaras rebelled against him and so Amir legalized their sale as slaves. Because of his orders, tens of thousands of Hazara children and women were sold in and outside the country. Now that they are pacified and subjugated and they recognized the authority of Amir, and besides, according to the belief of the Sunnis, these people are Muslims, and according to Sharia, their selling and buying is not allowed, and because of his orders many soldiers became parents and husbands. Therefore, they are not useful for the services of the country. As a matter of fact, the buying and selling of these Hazaras is damaging the religion and the state and therefore should be stopped."[72]

When Amir received this message, he replied that they didn't know about the nature of the Hazaras. "They are the false believers. I cannot force them to sell their children, nor I can force them to buy each other's children."[73] This was a typical answer of Amir and thus there was no further action from the people who had felt pain.

During the initial years of his reign, Amir Abdur Rahman fought several wars. Two of them, as he told himself, were especially fought for the glory of Islam. One was against the Hazaras, and the other was against the Kafirs of Kafiristan. Both of them were independent nations, living in their homelands, and practicing their own religious beliefs. Both had nothing in common with the rest of the Afghan nation. After defeating these two nations, Amir treated them differently. Amir ordered his commanders to burn and destroy the homes of Hazaras, capture and kill the men, and sell the children and women as slaves. Yet the Kafirs were treated in a much better way. While they also suffered greatly at the hands of Afghans, they did not face the most humiliating act--slavery. After the occupation of Kafiristan, Amir ordered his officials that no Afghan soldier be allowed to capture the Kafir men and women, or to keep them as slaves. The women would not be sold as slaves except for the royal harem. He also ordered that if someone were hiding a Kafir slave, he would be fined 3,500 rupees. They were reminded that they should not

treat the Kafirs as slaves the way they had the Hazara prisoners. After receiving such an order, not a single Kafir man or woman was taken as a slave by the Afghans.[74]

References

1. Encyclopedia Islam,1: 39
2. Amir Ali, Spirit of Islam: 262
3. Ibid: 267
4. Ibid: 263
5. Ibid: 265
6. Ibid: 265-266
7. Ibid: 267
8. Ibid: 267
9. Malcolm, History of Persia, 1: 140
10. Wood, Journey to Source of Oxus: 127
11. Ibid: 132
12. Ibid: 141
13. Harlan, Central Asia: 66
14. Wood: 141
15. Vanbery, Sketches of Central Asia: 209
16. Howorth, History of Mongols, 2: 359; Harlan: 45
17. Harlan: 82
18. Ibid: 45
19. Ibid: 70
20. Ibid: 70
21. Wood: 133
22. Montgomerie, Report of "The Mirza's Exploration": 146
23. Leech, Supplementary Account: 34
24. Amir Ali: 266
25. Harlan: 126-127
26. Ibid: 126
27. Hamilton, A Vizier's daughter: 147
28. Ibid: 160
29. Ibid: 236
30. Ibid: 147-150
31. Ibid: 162
32. Ibid: 162-163
33. Ibid: 163
34. Ibid: 161
35. Ibid: 163-165
36. Park, Travels and discovery: 370
37. Hamilton: 166-167
38. Ibid: 170-171
39. Ibid: 173
40. Faiz,: 919
41. Hamilton: 175
42. Ibid: 176
43. Ibid: 234
44. Elkins, Slavery: A Problem: 110
45. Secret Letters, 66: 1
46. Faiz,: 581
47. Ibid: 930
48. Ibid: 786, 987
49. Ibid: 937
50. Ibid: 937
51. Ibid: 938
52. Ibid: 1038
53. Secret Letters, 73: 1228
54. Faiz: 802, 835, 925-926 929-930, 1004, 1038; Secret Letters, 68: 828, 74: 549
55. Faiz: 802
56. Ibid: 969
57. Ibid: 987

58. Ibid: 863
59. Ibid: 863
60. Ibid: 830
61. Secret Letters, 69: 627
62. Faiz: 1132
63. Hamilton: 239
64. Ibid: 258, 269
65. Faiz: 1070
66. Ibid: 989
67. Ibid: 258, 267
68. Ibid: 863
69. Pehrson, Social Organization: 30
70. Secret Letters, 73: 1228
71. Faiz: 1013
72. Ibid: 1115
73. Ibid: 1115-1116
74. Ibid: 1182

8

Hazaras In Foreign Lands

One of the consequences of the Hazara War of Independence was a mass migration of Hazara men, women and children. This migration was caused by the destruction of their homes; crops and personal properties were confiscated by the Afghan soldiers. Besides the fear of being captured by the Afghans and subsequent sale as slaves, they also migrated to avoid starvation.

While a few fled to the north, to Russian Turkistan and Tajikistan, the majority fled to British India and Iran. They fled to British India for employment opportunities, and to Iran because of their religious affiliation with the holy city of Mashhad. In the latter years they even migrated farther, to the Middle East, Western Europe, and some to North America. While a few went back to Hazarajat, especially during Amir Habibullah's time, the majority of them settled in these lands permanently.

Hazaras in Iran

While the origin of Hazara establishment in British India (now Pakistan) was clearly the result of the Hazara war, questions have

been raised about the origin of Hazara establishment in Iran, especially of the ones living in Mashhad. While Ivanov has suggested a Badghis origin for the Iranian Hazaras, Schurmann, however, strongly opposed such an idea.[1] During Ivanov's study of the ethnology of Khurasan, he mentioned the Hazaras as the Barbaris. He stated that these people migrated from Afghanistan, from Firozkoh, on the Kashan River, with the administrative center of Qala-e Nao. He further suggested that their migration began long ago and they have gradually ousted Persians and Turks from the eastern extremity of Hazar Masjid range. He noted that the Hazaras were from the following tribes: Uruzgani near Chahar Deh in the Hazar Masjid range, the Jaghuri in the same hills and in the Sar-e Jam, Besud, Dai Zangi, Dai Kundi, and Lal Jangal.[2]

Schurmann is perhaps correct to contradict Ivanov's theory that these Hazaras are the Qala-e Nao Hazaras. The names of these tribes clearly shows that none of them belongs to the Qala-e Nao Hazaras, and that all of them are the Hazarajat Hazaras.

Almost all the western sources have referred to these Hazaras as Barbaris. For example, Yate found that Gandusha (Khangusha) was inhabited solely by Barbaris.[3] Similarly, Ivanov mentioned that the districts of Mashhad and Quchan have many villages with a Barbari population, especially in the lands belonging to the Shrine of Imam Raza.[4]

Recently, Adamec shed some light on the origin of the Persian Hazaras:

> "It may, however, be mentioned that previous to the removal of the tribe by the Shahzada Sultan Murad Mirza [Hisham-us Sultanat] in 1846-1857, there were indications of Hazaras in Khurasan. These are said to have been families who fled thither after the break up of the tribe by Yar Mohammad of Herat in 1847, and it is also believed by some authorities that there were Hazaras in Khurasan, since the time of Nadir Shah. An even earlier origin has been ascribed to the Hazaras in Persia, but this has apparently arisen from their being confused with the Taimuris."[5]

The theory that Nadir Shah brought the Hazaras from Hazarajat and planted them in Persia is very popular. An interesting story has been provided by a Persian author:

> "King Nadir Shah, the ruler of Iran, after having occupied Afghanistan, took away with him a number of efficient Hazaras to Iran and granted them land for cultivation. But the Hazaras did not stay there [Asfaren] and came to live around Mashhad, mostly in Kana-Bait and Kana-Goshen, which are, at present the pious foundation dedicated in the name of Imam Reza."[6]

Another report shows that during the last decade of the 19th century, an extensive area around Mashhad was occupied by the Hazaras:

> "The places where these settlements are to be found are Sang Bast, about 20 miles southeast of Mashhad, Navar-e Kurlas, some 20-24 miles north of Turbat-e Haidari, and about 10 miles east of the pass of Godar-e Bedar on the main road leading thence to Mashhad. Some other spots within the Turbat-e Haidari district, in Kain district, at Kushan, near the frontier of Herat and Khurasan and around the city of Herat."[7]

For all these years, the Hazaras in Iran were known as Barbari, which they resented very much. They wanted to be called by the name Hazaras or another appropriate term. Finally, they appealed to the Raza Shah, the Great, who granted them the name of Khawari through a Firman (decree), and since then, the name Barbari has been abandoned.

At the present time, the Hazaras live mostly in the cities of Mashhad, Turbat-e Jam, Birjand, Asfaren, Nishaboor, Fariman and about 750 villages situated around these cities. The majority are farmers. In the cities, however, they are employed in petty jobs. The Hazara population of these villages mentioned above ranges from 10% to as high as 100%.[8]

In the 1960's the Hazara population in different parts of Khurasan province of Iran was estimated to be 300,000. This information has been provided by a Mashhad Hazara leader, Mohammad Yosuf Abghari.[9] This dramatic growth in the Hazara population is due not only to their birth rate but also to the continuous migration from Hazarajat. During recent years, due to the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, a large number of Hazaras, mostly from the urban centers, came to Iran and many of them were absorbed in the local Hazara population.

Hazaras in Iraq

For the Hazaras, the Shia's holy cities of Karbala, Najaf, and

Kazimain in central Iraq have always been the center of religious knowledge and guidance. They have travelled to these cities as pilgrims from the time they adopted their new religion--Islam. Hazaras liked the area and many stayed permanently. Since they were Shias and the above three cities and their suburbs were predominantly Shias too, it was only a matter of time before they were absorbed into the local population who, in spite of being Arabs, were of the Shia faith.

After the death of Nadir Shah, the new king, Zahir Shah, started persecuting the Hazaras; he held them responsible for the killing of his father. Many of the Hazaras, seeing no end to the Afghan animosity, started migrating to Iran, sometimes in large numbers (estimated at 1,500 families). They came to Mashhad and the nearby villages and, after a few years' stay, went on to Iraq, which was in need of skilled and unskilled labor due to its booming oil industry. This was the time when Faisal II was the King of Iraq. His government allowed these Hazaras to stay and work on a temporary basis. The majority of these Hazaras settled in a town by the name of Judaida, near the holy city of Najaf.

After the overthrow of King Faisal II and the arrival of Colonel Karim Qasim, these Hazaras faced a new challenge. The Ba'ath Party demanded from the Hazaras that either they become Iraqi citizens or they must have an Afghan passport, a document which they never had in the past. Many of the Hazaras could not go to the Afghan embassy at Baghdad to get the Afghan passport, because they were known by the Afghan embassy staff as anti-Zahir Shah and were black-listed. So, instead of going to the embassy, they started buying Afghan and Pakistani passports from the Hazara pilgrims who had recently arrived in Iraq, and changed them to their own passports.

The Iraqi Hazaras worked, prospered, and many of them married local Shia Arab women. During the reign of President Hassan Bakr, the Afghan ambassador in Baghdad was the noted Afghan poet Khalilullah Khalili. Back in Afghanistan, his father, Mohammad Hussain (a judge), killed a Hazara Sayed; when the Hazaras demanded justice for such murder, King Amanullah Khan handed over the judge to the Hazaras to settle their affair by themselves. The Hazaras killed him savagely. This, in return, created great animosity among the Khalili's family.

Now was the time for the son of murdered judge who was the Afghan ambassador in Baghdad, to revenge the Hazaras by telling the

Iraqi government to expel them. He told the government that the Hazaras were Shias and, being linguistically and religiously related to the Iranians, arch enemies of Iraqis, were spies living among the Iraqi Shias. He requested the Iraqi government not to issue any work permits to these Hazaras, and to force them to leave the country. The government of Iraq, being occupied with Iran in the Shat-al Arab water dispute, did not want any pro-Iranian group among its Shia population. Being sensitive to the Shia's cause, they did not wish to have people with suspicious backgrounds among the Shia population who, even though in majority, were discriminated against both in governmental and private sectors.

So, the Iraqi government ordered the Hazaras to leave the country en masse. They were told to leave their Arab wives and children behind and sell their businesses and properties and leave the country. This was also a time when a large number of Iranians were forced to leave the country. Unlike the Hazaras who were of recent arrival, these Iranians had been living there for generations; their only fault was that they were still Persian speaking and were of Shia faith.[10] Since the Kabul government refused to allow these Hazaras to go back to Afghanistan, they were left homeless without a country.

Approximately 3,000 Hazara families left Iraq. Some of them went to neighboring countries like Iran, Pakistan, Syria, the Arab Emirates, and a few also left for Beirut, Lebanon. Suddenly there was a large number of Hazaras homeless, and under a humanitarian arrangement the government of Norway accepted many of them as refugees. The majority of them were settled in the vicinity of Stockholm.

Hazaras in Pakistan

The history of the Hazaras in Pakistan revolves around the events concerned with their service in the British Indian Army, and the emergence of Pakistan as a new nation.

The manner in which they migrated in this part of the globe has been influenced greatly by the events in their country in the last two decades of the 19th century. However, they were found in Quetta and other parts of the Indian sub-continent in a small number much before the uprising against Abdur Rahman; thereafter, they came to Quetta in any appreciable number. Their military prowess and inclination towards soldier life qualified them for service in the Indian Army, and the British officers found them to their taste. Two companies of

Hazaras were first recruited in the 124th and 126th Baluchistan Regiments.

In the early 1900's, a British officer, Colonel Claude Jacob (later Field Marshal Sir Claude W. Jacob), was entrusted with the responsibility of raising a new regiment of Hazaras exclusively. This regiment became known as the 106th Hazara Pioneers. A full description of the Hazara Pioneers will be discussed later in this chapter.

Those who could not be absorbed in the army found other vocations and means of livelihood. They were uneducated and unskilled. Their skill as agriculturists or pasturists was of no avail to them as they had lost their lands and were not offered any new lands in their new homeland. Here they worked as unskilled laborers and in government services, where they were absorbed in the lower ranks. Some engaged in petty businesses. In civilian life, too, they adjusted in their new environment as peaceful citizens.[11]

Finally the Hazara Pioneers were disbanded in 1932, soon after its 25th anniversary. The disbandment released a large number of soldiers and their dependents to find jobs for themselves as best they could. A few of these families went to Iran, and still fewer went back to Afghanistan. After this event, with no further army service available to them, they found themselves in a competitive field as civilians. For a time, the small Hazara community in Quetta found themselves deserted and destitute.

The great earthquake in Quetta on May 31, 1935, claimed about 60,000 lives, and also took numerous Hazara victims. This natural catastrophe, however, opened up a new field of employment and profession for the Hazaras in Quetta. They had nowhere to go in contrast to other people in the city who went to other cities to live among their relatives. Once again, a small corps of Hazaras was raised in Quetta; most ex-servicemen were recalled and enlisted in this corps. The corps was raised to clear the debris of the town and was disbanded shortly afterwards, as they were no longer needed. By this time, the Hazaras had entered their new homes as full-fledged civilians. Quite a number of them had by now gained skills and some education. A small number of them became businessmen, small contractors, shopkeepers, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, drivers, mechanics, and semi-skilled hands in a score of jobs. With further experience and education, they found better and easier means of making their livelihood. The small community began to prosper and they sent their children to higher educational institutions.[12]

With the start of World War II in 1939, the Hazaras were once again recruited in the various branches of the British Indian Army. Some of them rose to the ranks of commissioned officers. One of these officers, General Mohammad Musa, rose to become Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army and commanded his army against India in the War of 1965.

The end of World War II found the Hazaras more involved in civilian life; the tribes as a whole, felt more inclined toward education day by day. The partition of India and the emergence of Pakistan as a new nation opened up new opportunity to the Hazaras in civilian life. The vacuum created by the mass migration of the Hindus and Sikhs from Quetta during partition was filled by the Hazaras in the commercial fields.

Their natural inclination towards military service, however, was too strong to resist; in spite of opportunities in civilian life, they never missed a chance to take up arms. There are quite a number of Hazara in various branches of the Pakistan Army, Navy and Air Force. They have achieved high ranks from Lieutenant to General in the Army and from Flying Officer to Air Vice Marshal in the Pakistan Air Force.

Apart from Quetta, there are smaller settlements of Hazaras in other cities throughout Pakistan. Significant numbers of them live in Parachinar, Karachi, Hyderabad, and Loralai. A large number, especially the newly arrived Hazaras from Afghanistan, also live in Mach, a coal mining town, employed as mine workers.

It is interesting to note that the Hazaras living in Quetta have, for a long time, avoided assimilation with their non-Hazara neighbors, while their cousins in Iran have assimilated with their Iranian neighbors. It should be noted that the Hazaras in Quetta are surrounded by non-Persian speaking Caucasian people of Sunni belief, while Hazaras in Mashhad are Persian-speaking and are among Shia Iranians. While language played an important role in Hazara assimilation in Iran, its role is secondary to religious affinity. This is clearly demonstrated in Parachinar, in the Frontier Province of Pakistan, where they and Turi Bangash (Pashtun) have freely intermarried for decades. They do not speak the same language, nor do their features resemble each other. The two groups are united only by religious beliefs, as both the ethnic groups are of the Shia sect. Both these ethnic groups have lived in harmony, and whenever there were sectarian fights, the Hazaras and the Turi fought as a single body. This has never happened in Quetta where the Hazaras have kept their

identity as pure as possible; by and large Hazaras are operative as a closed group with almost no affinity with people of other religious and ethnic groups.

The Hazaras' arrival at Quetta had been recorded by the British sources stationed at Qandahar, Quetta and Kabul. We will examine them to see the circumstances under which they came to Quetta.

According to one source, the Hazaras came to Quetta to seek employment on Indian Railways during construction, while in recent years a few have also been enlisted in the Indian Army.[13] The other source tells the way the Hazaras came during and after the Hazarajat uprising. One informant, by the name of Lal Mohammad Qazi, sent news from Quetta to his brother, Abdullah at Qandahar, that some notable Uruzgan Hazaras came to the British officers at Quetta and that, after they returned to Uruzgan, the rebellion broke out. Abdullah forwarded this news to His Highness at Kabul. His Highness wrote to the Governor of Qandahar, and censured him for his want of energy in not watching the Hazaras; he prevented them from going to Quetta. The Governor had summoned the Tahsildar and Thanadar of Takht-e Pul, and called for explanation from them as to why they permitted the Hazaras to proceed to Quetta.[14]

In response to this accusation, the British Agent to Governor General (AGG) stationed at Quetta, wrote a note:

> "This is the silly way in which bad feeling is got up with the Amir. I have found this man, Lal Mohammad Qazi, in the village of Baleli, near Quetta, and warned him that if I again heard of his reporting such mischevious nonsense, I would give him 50 lashes in the Quetta market place and turn him out of British Territory."[15]

Commander Fateh Mohammad Khan was appointed to take control of the Hazara flight from their villages. When he searched Siah Band near Dara Mesh, he was told by his informants that the Hazaras of village Gizab had started their flight to Quetta (Shalkote) via Dara Mesh. When he heard this, he rushed to block their way and foiled their plan to flee. When this news of the Hazara flight reached Amir, he ordered the Hakims of Turkistan, Herat, Farah, Qandahar, Qalat, Muqur, and Ghazni not to allow a single Hazara to go outside the country. But besides such orders, the Hazaras, under the constant threat of death, fled from their villages to the north in the Russian territory, in the west to Khurasan and Sistan, and to the south to Baluchistan and Sind. They found employment in foreign countries.[16]

From Quetta and Qandahar Amir received the messages that after Amir's order for their arrest, the Hazara Sayeds, Karbalais, Zawars and other elders had fled to Quetta. They found employment in the two battalions of the infantry in the British Army. The officers at the borders of Peshawar, Jalalabad, Khost, Kurrum, Muqur, Qalat, Kakaristan (Zhob), Qandahar, Shalkote, Farah, Chikhsur, Baluchistan, Seistan, Herat, Maimana, Turkistan were sent copies of Fermans. Amir ordered them to be careful in watching the roads and outposts and not to allow a single Hazara to cross the Afghan border and enter foreign soils to obtain employment there. If they passed the roads and posts, the guards were ordered to kill them. In spite of these restrictive orders, the Hazaras, without fearing death, crossed the borders and entered the neighboring countries of Iran, Russia, and India.[17]

According to another Afghan source, it was reported that about 22 Hazaras were arrested by an Afghan official while on their flight to Quetta. They offered resistance to arrest and some were killed. Some were successful in their attempt to escape and cross the border while the rest of them were arrested, chained and sent to Kabul, where most of them died in prison.[18]

Amir received messages that 1,400 families of Ata Jaghuri and 14,000 families of Besud had no choice but to flee to other countries because of heavy taxation, severe persecution by the Afghan officials, and because of the arrest of their wives and children. And for their plight and plunder, the Afghan officials are fully responsible.[19]

Some of the Hazaras who fled to India after serving in the British Army got permission from their officers and somehow reached Qandahar to visit their homes in Hazarajat. The Hakim of Qandahar did not allow them to proceed to their villages in Hazarajat even though the British officials guaranteed their return to India. He refused to allow them to visit their villages based on Amir's order not to allow the Hazaras to cross the borders on either side. When Amir got this news, he ordered his officials not to allow such persons to return who had served in the British Army and wanted to come back to Hazarajat. He also wrote to the British agent in Baluchistan, not to permit such people to enter Afghanistan lest they create disturbances in Afghanistan.[20]

To further discourage the flight of Hazaras to the neighboring countries, Amir ordered that from that time, i.e., 1892, the properties and lands of those Hazaras who had fled and taken residence in foreign lands would be confiscated and given to the Afghans.[21]

Besides Hazarajat's Hazaras, the Hazaras who settled in Iran also contributed to the increase in the number of Quetta Hazaras. Periodically, a small number of them came to Quetta and established themselves. Mostly it was a kind of family reunification. Due to Afghan terror during the uprising, many families split and fled the country in different directions. Some fled to Iran and some fled to India. After many years that they heard from each other and moved across the Iran-India borders. Also, some families in Quetta went to Iran to be reunited with their families.

In 1938, a large number of prosperous Hazara families of the Maska tribe living in Mashhad migrated to Quetta. It seemed that they were forced to leave Iran by Raza Shah, the Great, and their properties were confiscated. The British Consular in Mashhad helped these people receive compensation for their properties, and with this money they started their new businesses in Quetta. Because they were thrifty and experienced in business, soon their businesses flourished and many of the present Hazara millionaires are from this tribe of Hazaras.[22]

While the Hazaras living in Iran had full citizenship rights and were absorbed into the Iranian society, the Hazaras in Quetta were living as refugees. The British Indian government never paid attention to this matter, and the newly-born nation of Pakistan was never pressed to solve this problem. Finally, in the year 1962, the Hazara tribes in Pakistan were given the status of a local tribe equivalent to other tribes of Baluchistan, i.e., Baluch and Pathan.

In recent years, many young Hazara men from Quetta have migrated to foreign countries looking for employment and better lives. Some have settled in the Persian Gulf states of Sharjah, Dubai, and Kuwait, while most of them have settled in European countries, especially West Germany, Belgium, Denmark, England, Norway and Sweden. Many of them live in Copenhagen Denmark, and in Hamberg and Frankfort, West Germany. A few have also settled in the United States.

A Brief History of Hazara Pioneers

The first contact between the British and the Hazaras seems to have been just before the First Afghan War, when some Hazara served in "Broadfoot's Sappers" (British Scouts) in about 1839-1840.[23]

For many years a considerable number of Hazaras used to come to India to work as laborers, particularly at heavy work such as

quarrying. In 1903-1904, however, owing to extreme persecution by the Afghans, large numbers of Hazara refugees poured over the frontier. In 1904, Lord Kitchner, who at that time was Commander-in-Chief in India, directed Major C. W. Jacob to raise a battalion of Hazara Pioneers. Previous to this, the only Hazaras in the Indian Army were those enlisted in the 124th and 126th Beluchistan Infantry and a troop in the Guides Cavalry.[24]

The 106th Hazara Pioneers were raised at Quetta in 1904 by Major C. W. Jacob; a nucleus was formed by drafts from the 124th Duchess of Connaught's own and the 126th Baluchistan Infantry. The Battalion was composed of eight companies of Hazaras, and their permanent peace station was at Quetta. Their full dress uniform was drab with red facings.

In 1918 the Hazaras of the 124th and the 126th Baluchistan Infantry were transferred to the 106th Hazara Pioneers, then on active service in Mesopotamia. Prior to this, the Guides Cavalry had ceased to include Hazaras in their ranks. The 106th Hazara Pioneers were now the only unit in the Indian Army enlisting them.

There were two changes in the title of the regiment after the 1914-1918 war. The 106th Hazara Pioneers became "The 1st Batallion 4th Pioneers" in 1922 and "The Hazara Pioneers" in 1929. As a result of the financial crisis in 1933, all Pioneer Regiments in the Indian Army, including the Hazara Pioneers, were disbanded.

Since the 1914-1918 war, it had become increasingly difficult to recruit Hazaras from the Hazarajat; more recruits had to be taken from the Hazara colonies settled in the Mashhad area. These men, however, lacked many of the best qualities of the Hazaras enlisted from the Afghan highlands, directly. The difficulty in obtaining more of the latter was due chiefly to the change in the attitude of the Afghans towards the Hazaras who were no longer poorly treated and were now being freely enlisted in the Afghan Army. In addition, the Afghan government had requested the government of India not to continue enlisting their subjects (the Hazaras) in the Indian Army.

Field Marshall Sir Claud W. Jacob was colonel of the regiment from 1916 until its disbandment in 1933.

In 1915, one company served with distinction in France with the 107th Pioneers. The whole regiment was employed during 1915-1916 with the Kalat Column, and at Khwash in Sistan under General Dyer. In 1917 they served on the Mohmand Blockade Line, and sent one company to join the 128th Pioneers in Mesopotamia.

In 1918, the whole regiment proceeded to Mesopotamia where, after serving for some months with the 18th Indian Division on the Tigris above Baghdad, they joined the 2nd Corps and were employed in helping to drive the railway through the Jabal Hamrin from Table Mountain on the Dajla (Tigris River).

During 1919, they worked strenuously on the Shergat-Mosul Line of Communications. In the autumn they took part in the Kurdistan Operations. In 1920, they were again employed on the Shergat-Mosul line of Communications, completing their labors in 1921 by constructing a new road down the bank of the Tigris from Shergat to Baji. They returned to Quetta in August 1921.

During the above opertions, several Indian Orders of Merit, as well as a number of Indian Distinguished Service Medals and Indian Meritorious Service Medals, were awarded to Hazaras for gallantry.

During the Waziristan Operations of 1923-1924, the Hazara Pioneers took part in the road making through the Baravi Tangi and the Shahur Tangi. This was difficult work which had to be completed against time. Afterward, they did considerable work on the railway and on frontier roads in Zhob.

In 1917, due to the difficulty of enlisting a sufficient number of Hazaras from Afghanistan, the experiment was made of recruiting Baltis as a temporary measure. A recruiting party from the 106th Hazara Pioneers visited Baltistan in the late autumn of 1917. About 100 recruits were enlisted during 1917-1918 and even brought to Quetta for training, but the war ended before any of them were able to join the regiment overseas. After the armistice, nearly all these Baltis were demobilized and returned to their homes.

The Hazara Pioneers were probably the best shooting regiment in the Indian Army. The men were naturally good shots and were tremendously keen. At the Divisional Rifle Meetings in Quetta, at least half the men in the batallion entered the open events and swept the board year after year. They won the Meerut Cup and King Emperor's Cup on several occasions, as well as the Carnatic Gold Cup and the Rawlinson Shield.

Although the Hazara Pioneers always had talented individual field hockey players, it was not until after the Great War that they produced good teams. Their post-war successes were due mainly to the fact that the young soldiers from whom the teams were drawn, had been born and bred in the Hazara Lines in Quetta. They won a succession of District Hockey Tournaments and in 1926 also carried off the

Western Command Hockey Cup. In the same year, two of their teams were chosen for the Indian Army hockey team which had such a successful tour in New Zealand.

Hazaras in Imperial Russian Army

Two British officers of the 106th Hazara Pioneers, serving with the British Military Mission to Siberia in 1919, were surprised to come across some Hazaras in Russian uniforms. These and other Hazaras had been working as laborers in the rear ranks of the Imperial Russian Armies during the Great War. After the revolution of 1917 and the collapse of the Russian Armies, they were left stranded and unable to go back to their homes in Afghanistan. Accordingly, they joined and fought with the White Russians against the Bolsheviks. The White Russian Army in Siberia was now also showing signs of giving way. Once more these Hazaras wished to return home, but were unable to do so.[25]

References

1. Schurmann, Mongol: 56
2. Ivanov, Ethnology of Khurasan: 142-158
3. Yate, Khurasan and Sistan: 137-138
4. Ivanov, Ethnology of Khurasan: 143-158
5. Adamec, Hist. Political Gazetteer, 3: 239
6. Jam, A Sociological Study of Hazaras: 37
7. Elias, Tarikh-i Rashidi: 249b
8. Jam, A Sociological Study: 37
9. Ibid: 37
10. Iraq, A country Study: 4-5
11. Jam, A Sociological Study: 42-43
12. Ibid: 43-44.
13. Imperial Gazetteer India, 5: 47
14. Secret Letters, 66: 3
15. Ibid, 66: 8
16. Faiz: 918
17. Ibid: 988
18. Ibid: 1043
19. Ibid: 1153
20. Ibid: 1233
21. Ibid: 829
22. Sulaiman: 27
23. Banburry: 3
24. Ibid: 5
25. Ibid: 9-10

9

Political and Social Organization

The Village

The Hazara village known as Deh, Qariya, Aghil (Ayil), is the basic social and political unit consisting of from a few nuclear households to more than hundreds of households (Khana-e Dud). Usually the smaller villages consist of members of the same clan or lineage (Qowmi), but in the larger villages, households of several different Qowmi constitute the population of the village. The traditional Hazara village used to be within the limit of the Qala or fortress. These Qalas were large enough to house the whole village which consisted of extended families of the siblings. While Schurmann[1] denied the presence or existence of such Qalas in present-day Hazarajat, Canfield[2] was able to locate such Qalas in the Bamian valley. These Qalas are surrounded by high, thick mud walls (Pakhsa), with holes all around for defense purposes.

Elphinstone gives the account of a Hazara village of the 19th century:

"They generally live in villages of from 20 to 200 houses, though some live in Tatar tents. Each village is defended by a high tower capable of containing ten or twelve men and full of loop-holes. There is a kettle-drum in each and in time of peace a single man remains in the tower, to sound an alarm if necessary."[3]

The presence of a tower in a Hazara village always played an important function. Threatened by their enemies, this structure served as the heart of each village (Plate No:2). Though it was not a beautiful piece of architecture, it had its own peculiarities. Hamilton describes the details of such a tower:

"In their immediate background, rose a mud tower, which might have been called two-storied, but the place where the tower room ought to have been, was filled up by a solid mass of mud, baked hard by the sun of many summers, so as a matter of fact it contained just one room capable of holding about a dozen persons closely packed together; this room and the flat roof above it being reached by a step, winding staircase, no two steps of which were the same heights. Some were so high that only a very active person could have climbed up, others so low as hardly to be worth calling steps at all... This was the tower, a place of the greatest importance in the village. At night it was occupied by some dozen men, all fully armed who took it in turns to sleep on the roof, so as to be able, themselves protected by a rampart about ten inches high, to keep watch on the country round about, and if necessary sound the drum to summon all the male villagers to protect the flocks and herds and young spring crops."[4]

Among the Hazara villages, there was a network of fortified castles, the Qala. These were the residences of Hazara Mirs, Khans, Sultans, and other feudal lords. These were the centers of their government as well as the bases for the soldiers and armory. They proved to be a stronghold and because Abdur Rahman's forces faced great difficulties in subduing the Hazaras, he orderd their complete destruction in the late 19th century.[5] After the occupation of Hazarajat, few such Qala could be found; instead a large number of Afghan headquarter buildings for the Afghan officials and soldiers were constructed and could be found everywhere.

The decline in Qala establishment was also the result of the fact that there was no further resistance to the Afghan aggression, and

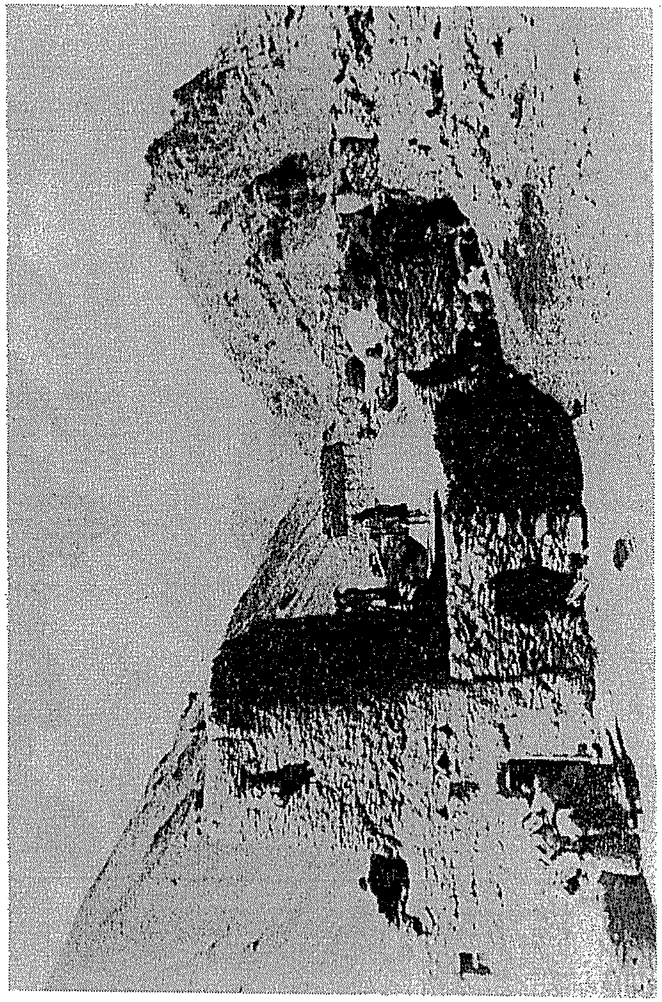


Plate No. 2: Hazara Mountain Village with Watchtower

perennial hostilities between the two groups ceased, at least superficially. Also Mirs and Khans are still the rich class; however, they no longer control the Hazara masses. The commoners dwell anywhere they choose. Also, because of the population growth, it is no longer possible to live within the four walls of the Qala.

Being agricultural people, the Hazara villages are mostly located at the edge of the irrigated zone in the narrow valleys and in the wider valleys at the bottom of river beds. In the elevated parts of Hazarajat, the villages are always built with the houses attached to each other so as to afford maximum shelter. The square and flat-roofed houses are built of mud or of stones, according to available resources. The amount of wood is negligible in a dome-shaped house (Plate No:3) using sun-dried bricks.[6]

Before the occupation of Hazarajat, the Hazara rural communities experienced a protracted development under the conditions of a class feudal society. The observations of 19th century European travelers clearly shows most of the major Hazaras tribes like the Besud, Dai Zangi and Dai Kundi underwent a period of feudalization. The aristocratic top hierarchy of the clans--Arbabs, Maliks, and Begs--usurped the rights of the community rank and file over the land, and gradually converted that rank and file into a subordinate grade. The result of such feudalism was that each village or collection of villages had their own feudal lord, whose office became inherited instead of elective.[7] According to Harlan, such government was patriarchal, feudal and absolute. It was centered in a chief whose will was the law. The lives and property of his subjects were at his disposal and he was superior and in control.[8]

After the annexation of Hazarajat, the Hazara tribal system was largely broken down. The once powerful Khans were replaced by Afghan officials. In order to run the affairs smoothly, some prominent Hazaras have been designated by Afghan officials as local Arbabs and Maliks. The Hazara Arbabs and Maliks go between the Hazara masses and the Afghan officials, who are sent by the Kabul government. Arbabs have a number of assistants (Darogha) which, though chosen by the villagers, receive directions from the Arbabs. They work as liaison officers between the villagers and the Arbabs and helps the community in their cooperative projects. Both Arbabs and their Daroghas work voluntarily as both belong to well-to-do families. However, for the internal affairs of the village, they still maintain the office of their old traditional leaders, i.e., the Rish Safid, Ispi Rish,

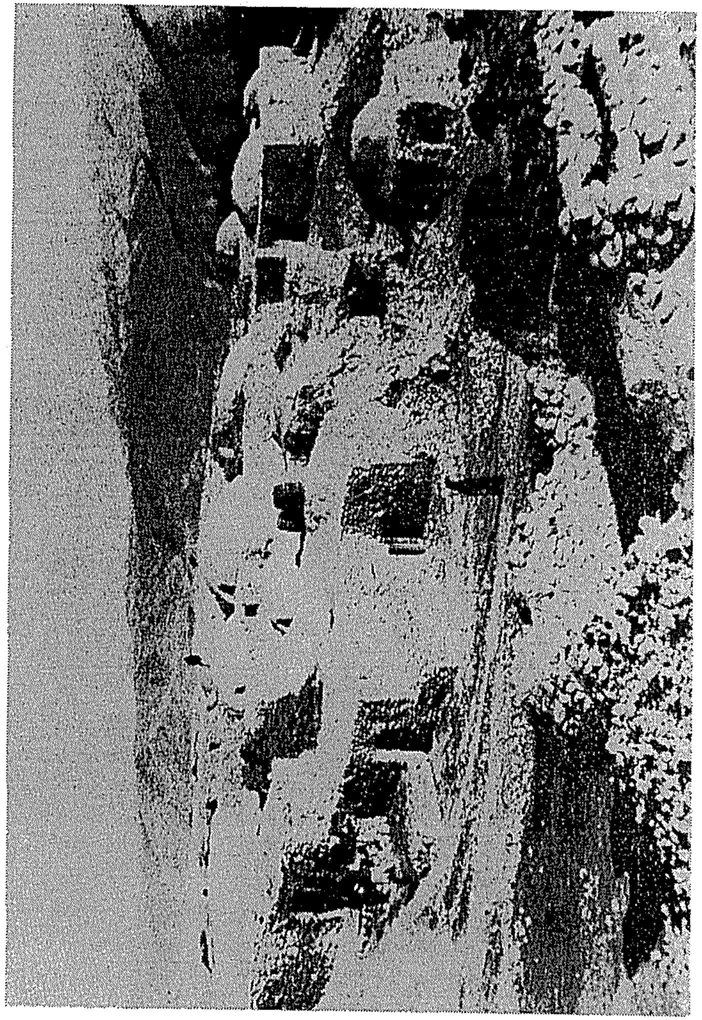


Plate No. 3: Hazara Village in Deh Zangi Region, with Dome-shaped Houses

Courtesy of Geographical Journal

Asqal or Apsaqal (the white beard). Much of the village government is in the hands of Hazara Rish Safid and the Arbab. While the elder or Rish Safid is serving the people as head of the village, the Arbab is usually responsible for official matters with the Afghan government. It is the responsibility of the Rish Safid to settle the minor disputes among the members of the village. He also takes active part in the death, marriage and other social ceremonies. One of the important duties that he is responsible for is to entertain "freely" the Afghan officials who visit the village. It is he who helps the villagers preserve each others' rights to irrigation water and land boundaries. In large villages of diverse lineage background, several Rish Safids come forward to settle the disputes among the different clansmen.

The selection of the Rish Safid differs considerably from tribe to tribe. Among the Jaghuri, he is selected by representatives of all the families in the village, including those who did not belong to the prevailing lineage groups. In Uruzgan, there is a tendency toward hereditary succession. The people, however, appear to had some voice in the matter. It is evident that whatever the mode of selection, the function and authority of the Rish Safids are fairly similar among the different tribes.

According to Hudson and Bacon[9], the village council in Jaghuri, composed of the head man and the elders of all the quarters, possessed certain influence in the matter of the disposal of plots of land by individual families. Thus, if anyone wished to sell his land to a stranger, an outsider, the council debated how desirable it would be for a prospective purchaser to become a member of the community, then the council gave or refused permission for the sale.

Customarily, the head of the clan, Rish Safid, summons a council attended by all adult males of the clan. This council decides all matters pertaining to the clan as a whole. It effects the assessments and partition of property by right of succession, according to Islamic law or Hazara customs. The council is also responsible to appoint the guardians of orphans and widows. It also helps in collecting the dowry for the poor girls, and takes care of the old and sick members of the clan. The council decides whom of the male kinsmen a widow must marry in accordance with the custom of levirate.

Beside the Rish Safids, Arbabs and official representatives, the Hazara village has some prominent people which influence the village life and the decisions of the people. They are known as Khanwada (resourceful), Motabar (wealthy) and Namdar (having a name).

Usually these people do not belong to the once-dominant ruling class, but have enormous wealth. Many of the Zawars, Karbalais and Hajis belong to this group, and their additional titles increased their prestige among their fellow kinsmen.[10]

The Hazara village represents an organized cooperative. As most of the villagers are connected to each other in one way or another, help is always extended to the members of the community. This cooperation and teamwork is visible especially when the crop is harvested or a house is newly built. Members of the Qowmi (clansmen) gather on such occasion and work together. The owner of the crop or of the house will serve meals and beverages to his guest-workers. Such cooperative work is called Ashar. A Qowmi member feels that it is his moral and social obligation to take part in such cooperative tasks. If he does not take part in such community-based projects, he may be cut off from fellowship of the Qowmi. Under such circumstances, it will be hard for the unwilling member of the Qowmi to live among his clansmen, as no one will talk or visit him. He will be alone in his dispute and quarrels with other clans. According to a Hazara saying, "If a Qowmi kills you, at least he will pull your corpse in the shade," meaning that even if he has some grudge against you he will still be sympathetic to you. However, women members are excused as such non-cooperation does not occur. This is especially true in case of a widow. Being a woman, a widow cannot offer her services in the field. Under such conditions, the Rish Safid will summon the members of the Qowmi to help the widow in her work. The widow, on the other hand, will reciprocate such services by working in the houses of her Qowmi members during the social ceremonies or during weaving of carpets and making felts.

Cooperation in the village is not necessarily limited to the members of the Qowmi; especially where more than one Qowmi resides in one village, the neighbors of different Qowmi offer their help to their neighbors. Being a neighbor means a special relationship and that they participate fully with each other's events of sorrow and happiness. Such cooperations exists not because they belong to the same Qowmi, but because they share mutual embankment (Jagha Sharik). Such mutual aid of kinsmen and neighbors have strenghened, cemented and actually imparted greater vitality to the Hazara village community, and so far has saved them from the process of disintegration. Thus, the strength of the Hazara village is based on the productive cooperation both in their fields and in their homes.

Housing

Almost all the Hazaras at present are sedentary and live in permanent houses. The Hazara houses are one-story buildings being erected without consideration to the symmetry of their arrangements. The result is that most of the village streets are narrow, crooked and unpaved. The sewage water either goes inside a deep well within the house compound or runs along the streets in an open ditch. One will find two kinds of housing structures. One is a huge building surrounded by a high mud wall with its huge gate. This is Qala or castle, where the decendants of the former powerful Hazara chiefs live. Within this walled structure there are several small mud huts, where the tenants of these families live. The second residential structure is represented by the houses located near the farming lands. These are the houses of the peasants who own their land and cultivate it by themselves.

Besides their permanent houses, some of the Hazaras move to an open field during the summertime. No permanent structure is built for such summer residence. According to Ferdinand, these summer residences have different names in different Hazarajat regions. For example, in Shahristan it is known as Aghil, in Jaghuri as Charchobi, in Dai Kundi and Dai Zangi as Mana, in Bamian as Chapari, and in Ghorband as Kherga.[11] These summer shelters are very common where there is rich pasture land near the village. Kota (in Jaghuri region) is a small square mud hut with a light roof of tree branches and poles. Aghil is a small dome-shaped branch-hut for goats and sheep. Charchobi is a square fence of wood which is moveable. Mana is a rectangular structure with the roof made of tree branches and poles. Chapari is a tent and looks like a yurt (Kherga). They are round structures with mat walls and dome-shaped roofs covered with felt. There are no smoke holes (Mori) inside the tent so the door serves the purpose of smoke exhaust. Chapari is but a little modification of the Kherga or yurt, which was in common use some 50-60 years ago.[12] Mud is mixed with water and pebbles and piled up by hand until a crude wall is formed. Two to three wooden beams are placed on the walls, which are covered with brush. A thick layer of mud is leveled on the brush, and a final mud-coating (Gilmala) is applied on the top. This mud coating is reapplied every fall before the snow falls to replace the mud lost during the past winter. Several houses are covered under one flat earthen roof. The room sizes depend on the availability of timber. When timber is available, the roofs are then supported on

beams, but in many Hazarajat villages there are no poplars to supply the beams. Usually a house consists of two to three rooms, most are either square or rectangular in shape.

The house (Khana) is usually divided into an animal room (Gaw-Khana or Mal-Khana), a forage room (Alaf-Khana), a family room used for sitting and sleeping, and a kitchen (Atish-Khana or Kar-Khana). Some rich people have a special room built in their houses, known as Tawa-Khana, a room heated by burning wood under its floor. Though very comfortable during the winter, it is very expensive from Hazaras' economic point of view. Many of the Hazara houses have no windows, only a small smoke hole in the center of the roof. This makes the houses extremely dark even during the daytime. Where there are windows, they are usually only small holes set high up in the walls. Windows are not usually built into the homes because of cold weather and scarcity of fuel. The Hazaras heat their houses by cooking indoors. They burn wild bushes known as Buta for fuel. Many Hazara families gather in the kitchen, which is heated from cooking and therefore more comfortable than living in the big living room. Usually in one corner of the room, there is an open fireplace (Dedgo) which serves both as a heating and cooking source. The winter fuel is stored in stacks outside the house. Beside the bushes, dried cow-dung cakes are used for heating purposes.

Because of their dependence on their animals, the Hazara house usually has a room where their animals are kept during the winter months. For such purpose, some of the houses are built in two stories, living quarters are just above the stable. When the number of animals (as in the case of sheep) is large, a seperate structure (Tawaila) is built next to the living quarters. When there are few animals, they are usually kept in a small room called Gaw-Khana, i.e., cow room, which is located within the compound.

The interior of the Hazara house is as simple as the exterior. The interior walls attract one's attention upon the entrance. One can see the recesses in the walls which are used for storage purposes for the carpets, felts, beds, pillows and their clothes. These are located near the bottom of the walls. On the upper portion of the walls, one can find small platforms (Taq or Taqcha) dug inside the wall. These platforms are used for storing lamps, religious books, household items like needles, sewing and knitting threads, etc. The floors are level and made of beaten clay. The walls and the floors are coated with a thin layer of clay which gives them a smooth and clean finish. The

Hazara women are always busy keeping their houses clean. The cleanliness of the Hazara houses has astonished foreign visitors.[13]

The furniture and the kitchenware of the Hazara household are very simple. Most of the Kitchenware consists of copper and aluminum as well as their own wooden-made and handmade earthenware. Many of the families have one or two wooden boxes which they use for storing their clothes. They use few glassware except for teacups and teapots. There is no bedding or dining furniture. A felt mat is usually spread on the floor at sleeping time. On this mat, the beds are made during the night and are again rolled up in the corner of the room every morning. The floor is also covered with mat at dinner and lunch times when the whole family sits on the floor. A small mirror might also be seen hanging on the wall. Those who have money might also have a few luxury items like a transistor radio, a clock, Samawar for tea, expensive chinaware, or wooden chairs. Their floors are covered with carpets and the doors have curtains and drapes. They use a gas lamp during the night and may also have a baking oven which is used both for heating and cooking purposes.

The Family

The Hazara family is an extended patrilineal family group consisting of husband and wife, their married sons and daughters-in-law, and unmarried sons and daughters, their grandchildren, husband's unmarried brothers and sisters. If the husband's parents are alive, they also live in the same house. Sometimes a son-in-law will also join this family.

Within this big family, the father, being the head of the family, is the main authority. He decides about the matters concerning the welfare of the family. He directs his sons to perform their duties on their land, to keep their obligations toward their kin and the rest of the community. He does not act as an authoritarian, but consults with his grown-up children. However, he is the one to make the final decision. Once his decision is made, it is respected by the family. Sometimes such decisions create bitterness among his sons, but because of the respect and obligation towards their father, they do not show their feelings and obey the old man's orders. During crises and troubles, his advice and wisdom is always sought by the members of the younger generation. Such feelings could be found in the Hazara proverb, "Bozurg na dari kola-e shi pesh kho bail," which means that if you do not have any wise man (to advise you), then place his hat before you (for

guidance). It is the father's responsibility to train his sons in farming and herding and other manual labor. He is responsible for making his sons aware of their religious duties as well as their social and communal duties. He is also repsonsible for making all the arrangements for his children's marriages, including the payment of the bride-price (Gala). Respect for social traditions and the sense of mutual cooperation are the principal factors which have determined the Hazara attitude towards family life. The most striking thing in the Hazara society is the lack of importance attached to the individual in comparison with the family, or with its tangible symbol, the house. Almost any sacrafice may be demanded of him for the benefit of the house, which is usually offered by him without any hesitation.

Interpersonal Relationships

Husband and Wife

The relationship between husband and wife is warm and full of affection. Although the wife is loved by her husband, she is not considered to be equal when it comes to decision-making and outside matters. A Hazara wife is supposed to be loyal to her husband, and this loyalty supersedes any loyalty she may have to her parents and other relatives. On the other hand, the husband is supposed to be loyal not only to his wife but also to his parents. The pressure from the Hazara society and the Islamic teachings have forced the Hazara women to follow their husbands in every possible way. It is not only true for the masses of the Hazaras, but to the families of Khans, Mirs and Arbabs. Cases like Bacon's Aghai of Dai Zangi do arise once in a while, but it is the man who dominates the Hazara interpersonal relationship between husband and wife. A Hazara mother is expected to fulfill two important roles in the Hazara society: First to raise the children, and second to manage the household affairs.

As time has passed, the position of Hazara women has changed drastically. The Hazara women described by Harlan could not be found in today's Hazara society. There is a noticeable change in the social and mental attitudes of the Hazara men towards their wives. According to Harlan:

> "The men display a remarkable deference for the opinions of their wives, especially on grave occasions, which impresses a stranger with surprise, when that deference is contrasted with the indifference and contempt usually prevailing amongst Mohammedans in their treatment and opinion of the sex! The

sexes participate in the domestic responsibility and in the labors and pleasures of their conditions. Seclusion of the women is not practiced, less dependence being placed on bolts and bars for the preservation of female virtue than is allowed to sense of prudence and the influence of honor. They address their wives with the respectful and significant title of Aga, which means master and also mistress, as the word may refer to male or female. They associate with them as equal companions, arrogate no superior pretentions of pre-eminence, consult with them on all occasions, and in weighty matters, when they are not present, defer a conclusion until the opinions of their women can be heard. The women, in fact, are free from temptations; and that fact is a safeguard to chastity no less potent than the force of education."[14]

Harlan further noted that in Hazara society:

> "The wife and husband among the Hazaras are inseperable in public affairs. She sits with her husband, in the Davan, dressed like him and booted, ready for the chase of even a military foray! They would not go upon a distant expedition, but in civil dissentions and in border difficulties, to which their excursions are mostly confined, they generally participate. In the chase both sexes use the fire-lock expertly and accurately. They will gallop their unshod horses over a precipitious deer path, regardless of danger, and bring down the game at full speed. Females of the poor manage the household duties, assist in tending flocks, bringing in thorns, carrying water and all the hard, laborious work."[15]

Under a situation where a woman gains a dominant position over her husband, she will try to separate her husband from his parents. If she cannot succeed, then she will fight with her in-laws. She will take revenge by ill-treating the husband's relatives and welcome her own relatives and treat them lavishly. A Hazaragi proverb puts it in this way, "Qowm-e shoi deg ra busho, Qowm-e zan qaila be zan!" meaning, the husband's relatives will wash the dishes while the wife's relatives will enjoy the meal. She will offer her relatives gifts and food while the husband's relatives will be glad to be treated with a cup of tea. She will continue showing her displeasure until her husband gives up and selects a separate household. Though this situation does occur, very few of them come to the surface.

The Bride and the In-laws

The relationship between the father-in-law and the bride is usually warm, but the situation is quite opposite when it comes to her mother-in-law. It is the prospective mother-in-law who searches for the girl and she certainly values her future daughter-in-law for her docility. She is expected to be submissive to her in-laws. She is also expected to be subservient to her husband and her elder brothers and sister-in-law. She is expected to do the work of the house and to care for the individual members of the family, especially her mother-in-law. Her mother-in-law fully expects her son's wife to take complete charge of all the house and farm work so that she can spend a carefree life. On the other hand, having been born in a different family and perhaps brought up under different circumstances, this young lady might find herself unable to live up to the role expected of her. If the mother-in-law's expectations are not fulfilled, she finds herself frustrated and becomes critical of her son's wife and adopts a hostile attitude towards her. She complains to her son about his wife. He gets tired and irritated by his mother's endless criticism and her dissatisfaction directed against his wife, and leaves to establish his own household. Some wives and their mother-in-law have tried to adjust to each other, but the arguments have been so vicious that they have been forced to separate. The bitter relationship between the daughter and the mother-in-law could be found in the Hazara proverb which says, "Khusur-madar mar mian-e asteen," which means, "a mother-in-law is like a snake inside one's sleeve."

Tensions among the women of a household continuously develops over the work routine. A mother-in-law, for example, may be disappointed in the way a new daughter-in-law does the household chores. She may miss her own daughter who has married out and finds the new daughter-in-law a poor substitute. A daughter, having learned to do the chores from her mother is familiar with her own household routine, but a daughter-in-law may be slow to learn and even reluctant to follow the new work patterns familiar to the new household. In the absence of the mother-in-law, tensions do not occur between the wives of brothers, as they have to share the same compounds and use the same household utensils. Fights between the children of brothers are usually the main cause of quarrels between the women. Fighting children causes the women to fight, and ultimately brothers get involved. Then serious tension usually arises, which results

in separation of the brothers. This is a very common phenomenon in Hazarajat and, according to Canfield, is one of the most successful tactics for those women who want their husbands to move out of a joint household and to have their own individual home. Canfield further observed that even though separated and not on speaking terms, the brothers still work the joint family farm and cooperation does not cease.[16] However, he may split apart either by moving to the city and look for employment or stay in the area and continue his farming without his kinsman's help.

The mother-in-law usually keeps her authority over her daughter-in-law as long as her husband is alive or her son has not completely taken over the control of his father's business. Her attitude towards daughter-in-law changes dramatically at her husband's death; now she depends completely on her son's income and decisions. She leaves her daughter-in-law in complete charge of the house and does not interfere with her in order not to endanger her sensitive position in her son's house. The mother will ask for the advice of her son in family and community matters. When a widowed mother has no married children, she usually will give an opportunity to the oldest son to handle the situation and to take care of his brothers and sisters.

The strained relationship between the bride and her mother-in-law and sister-in-law is just opposite her relationship to her brother-in-law and father-in-law. Because they are always busy in their work outside the house, they have little chance to become a party in women's conflicts. However, sometimes they are influenced by the women (mother or sister) and stand jointly against the new member of the family. She will, under these circumstances either give up and listen to her in-laws or go back to her father. Usually she will be returned to her husband's house with some advice, and the father will accompany her and convince the other party of their cruelty. The angry women would refer to their in-laws as follows: Her father-in-law as "Daba-e Kona" (the old tin cane), and brother-in-law as "Pena-e Sar-e zanu" (a patch over the knee).[17]

The Son and the Parents

In the Hazara society, the sons are expected to do two things: be respectful and obedient to their parents, and labor for the welfare of the family. The sons either work the farm and take care of the herds, or work in town and give their wages to their fathers. Though every son is trained to share his responsibility towards the family, it is the eldest

son upon whose shoulders fall the responsibility. It is he who will be given more exposure in society and in a matter of years he will achieve his training through a step-by-step procedure. It is especially true if the father is old and has several small children. Through extensive training the father tries to establish a sense of respect and authority for his children's elder brother, and to give his eldest son an opportunity to realize his responsibilities and act accordingly.

At his father's death, the eldest son completely takes over his father's business and finds himself responsible for the welfare of the family. He will be responsible to handle the funeral ceremony and to hold the after-death rituals which sometimes continue for a year. He is obligated to pay the unpaid debts of his father. He will not only be responsible for the worldly affairs of his deceased father, but also for his religious affairs. One thing the Hazaras pay a lot of attention to is the deceased person's wish for his son or family to recover his prayers or fastings which he might have missed due to his illness. If the son or the family has enough resources, they will pay money or goods to a Mulla or Sayed to say prayers and keep fast for the deceased person. However, if they cannot afford it, then the eldest son or the wife or mother will honor the wishes of the deceased person.

The eldest son is also responsible for the education and the marriages of his younger brothers and sisters. If his mother is alive and the brothers and sisters are very young, he will postpone his marriage for a couple of years. However, if his mother is also dead and his younger brothers and sisters are too young, he might get married so that his wife can take care of the children. He might face some difficulty in finding a mate beyond his very close relatives, as many people avoid giving their daughters to a family with orphan children. As Islamic laws puts a lot of emphasis on the love and kind treatment of the orphans and widows, Hazara parents are afraid their daughters may not fulfill their religious obligations. If they mistreat the orphans they will be punished by God for their cruelty, and thus these families avoid such marriages. However, he usually finds some kind relative who, even though realizing the situation, would give their daughter in marriage.

The Daughter and the Parents

The high valuation of sons in Hazara society puts the status of daughters comparatively low. While the status of a daughter is low, she has, however, a much higher position than her sister-in-law among

her family. The father always wishes to have a son who will not only carry the family lineage but also help him in his daily field work. The mother, on the other hand, wishes to have a daughter who will be of great help in her daily chores, but prefers to have a male child. This is the only positive way to make her parents-in-law happy and establish her in her new home. As long as she has not delivered a male child, she will be under constant fear that her husband might marry another woman to have a male child.

The daughter is not only helpful in household work, but also has the responsibility of taking care of her younger brothers and sisters. She helps her mother in her work until she is married or until one of her brothers gets married and thus she will be relieved of her work by her sister-in-law. She takes the side of her mother in cases when her mother fights with her sister-in-law. Usually the relationship with the sister-in-law is not very warm and conflicts do occur regarding chores. Their relationship could be judged from the Hazaragi proverb which says: "Nanu gazdum-e zer-e boriya-a," meaning "The sister-in-law is like a scorpion under the mate."

The daughter is loved and cherished. She is supposed to be the custodian of the family honor and prestige. She is expected not to bring any bad name or shame to the family by involving in extra-marital activity or any kind of gossip. Her responsibility increases when her mother dies at an early age and there is no woman to take care of her father and the children. Her family's love towards her does not end by her marriage, as her well-being is constantly supervised. Her parents will help her husband if he is financially weak.

Brother and Brother

The relationship between brothers is usually cordial. They share their work on the farm, collecting the fuel and fodder together. Their warm relationship continues even after they get married. This special relationship is sometimes broken down when they get involved in women's conflicts. In order to avoid their kinsmen gossip, they behave as usual in the outside world. Their sense of pride and the fear of shame keeps them intact even if they have very bad feelings for each other. The younger brother, though spoiled and loved by the whole family, has a special responsibility towards his older brothers and sisters. He is supposed to respect them and remain obedient to them. The elder brothers find themselves deprived of the exclusive position that their younger brother holds in the affection of their parents and

this manifests itself in reactions of jealousy. Because of this sibling jealousy, the younger brother gets all the kicks from his elder brothers. Protests from the younger brothers usually come to the surface, which can be traced from the Hazaragi proverb, "Sag bash birar-e reza na bash," which means, "A dog's life is better than the younger brother's life." The rivalry of siblings which begins in infancy may sometimes continue until they grow up but slowly vanishes as time passes away. While the younger brother thinks that his elder brothers and sisters over-react because of jealousy, they, on the other hand, believe that such behavior of authority is necessary to discipline children.

Sister and Brother

Compared to a brother-brother relationship, a sister-brother relationship is more affectionate and much warmer. One reason behind such a warm relationship is that a sister does not interfere in her brother's affairs. As a matter of fact, she is a helping hand in his day-to-day activities. The elder sister has a special and unique position among her brothers during the absence of their deceased mother. Under such circumstances, she is responsible for the welfare of the family, especially the younger brothers and sisters. She may refuse to get married until one of her brothers is married to make sure that someone will take care of the household. On the other hand, it is the responsibility of the elder brothers to make sure that their sister gets married and that she lives a comfortable life. If their sister is married to a poor family, they will help her by sending grains, wood, etc., and on speical occasions like Eid, gifts and clothing are usually sent to her and her children. When the sister has problems with her in-laws, or in the case of an emergency, she will ask her brothers for advice and comfort.

Cousin and Cousin

In a close-knit family like that of the Hazaras, where many brothers and their children live together, a rivalry usually arises among the cousins. The hatred which causes such a rivalry is spread not from their father's side, but from their mother's side, who are usually women from different family backgrounds. It is the mother who warns her children not to trust their cousins or go near them as they might harm them. Such an artificially created fear could be found in the Hazaragi proverb which says, "Abgha ki khar shawa sora na shu," meaning "If an uncle becomes a donkey even then don't ride him" (as

he may drop you on the ground), or the proverb which says, "Dushman na darum, aodur-zada darum," meaning "I do not have an enemy but I do have a cousin".

Stepchildren and Stepparents and Co-Wives

The relation between the stepchildren and the stepfather or mother is, with few exceptions, not very good. Usually the children are maltreated by one of the stepparents and, in some cases, brutality and child abuse become the norm of the stepchild's life. Those Hazaras who have the knowledge of Islamic laws are, however, kind to their stepchildren.

The relationship between the co-wives always remains tense and their lives are full of jealousy. The wife will fight with the new one until she establishes authority over her. Though the husband favors his new wife, he seldom comes to her help during their fight. Things calm down after the new wife accepts her authority and agrees upon her daily chores. Though the newcomer is defeated, she never misses a chance to bring her down and a rivalry continued for the rest of their lives. However, some co-wives get along very well and there are many cases when they live like two good friends or sisters.

Daily Chores

The daily activities of the typical Hazara farming family is divided between the husband, the wife, and the children. Every member of the family realizes their responsibility towards the welfare of the family, and each performs their duty accordingly.

The husband does all the farming and herding. During summer, he gets up early in the morning and prepares himself for the morning prayer. After taking his breakfast, he starts his day by taking his animals to the field. He eats his lunch in the field, which is either taken to him by his wife, or he brings it with him in the morning. He returns home in the afternoon. In the evening, he will prepare the fodder for his cows and other animals. During winters, when there is no field work, he keeps himself busy by cleaning the snow from the roofs and the pathways, feeding the animals, fetching water and cleaning the animals' quarters.

The Hazara woman works harder than her man. Up before the sun, she never rests until her menfolk have curled up in sleep. She wakes up earlier than other members of the family and prepares breakfast for them. Her daily chores start with lighting the fire,

fetching the water from a nearby stream, milking the animals and preparing the food. She will serve the menfolk first and will not start her meal until the men have finished. After everyone leaves the house for their jobs, she rolls up the bedding and puts it in the closet. She then sweeps out the hut, washes the dishes and begins to cook for lunch. She also prepares milk products. After feeding her family by taking the food to the field, she will busy herself with sewing, weaving, washing clothes and taking care of her children. Before the return of her husband and children, she prepares the food for the evening meal. She milks the animals in the late afternoon. The milk is then boiled for making butter and other milk products. After dinner, she washes the dishes, prepares the bed, and after everyone is asleep, she will retire from her daily chores. While the men, who work very hard during summertime, have enough time during winter to relax, the women work all the year round. The Hazara woman thus takes little care of herself, and has little care bestowed on her. Due to such heavy working schedules, the woman suffers more, ages sooner and as a result, dies younger than men. There are few widows among the Hazaras, while many widowers can be found in the village. There are very few moments in the life of a Hazara woman when she can change the monotony of her life. She is simply born, spends her carefree childhood years, gets married, bears children, works for her family and dies at an early age. During all these years she might occasionally take part in some family social ceremonies like a wedding, a circumcision, a visit to the Ziaratgah or Takya Khana.

While the eldest son helps his father in the field, the younger children will attend elementary school or go to the Mulla's religious school (Maktab). In their off-hours, these children collect the fuel and fodders for the family use. The girls help their mothers in the kitchen as well as baby-sit their younger brothers and sisters, often piggy backing them outside the house. Both the young boys and girls help the women in the field with weeding and collecting the wildly grown herbs and vegetables.

Family Life

Both rich and poor Hazaras share customs and superstitions, all have the same family occasions and seasonal festivities, the love of nature, the same standards of hospitality, the same fear of childlessness, and pride in their sons. The celebration of public and private occasions differ in the pomp and display of wealth; all families do the

best they can afford.

The cycle of family events, birth, circumcision, marriage and death, is further punctuated by occasions which are customary to mark in some way. These occasions accompanied by the traditional ceremonies, form a large part of Hazara family life.

Birth

The birth of a baby is an occasion particularly within the province of the women. A son is always more ardently wished for. Throughout the pregnancy many superstitious practices are resorted to in an attempt to ensure that the baby is a boy, but children are so loved that the safe delivery of a healthy infant is always a cause for rejoicing. The swaddling bandages, fine cloth smock, blue shawl and bonnet, and charms against the evil eye are collected together for the recitation of blessings, and sprinkled with hermal seeds (Ispand) as a further precaution against the evil eye.

On the day when the woman delivers her baby, the closest female relatives and friends are called to be present during the birth. Except for these women, no other woman is allowed to enter the house after the baby's birth, and they are kept away until the fortieth day. This is known as Chehl-Griftan, i.e., to observe the forty days of the birth. It is interesting to note that the Mongol ancestors of Hazara used to keep the people who did not belong to the household away from the expecting mother three days before the birth.[18]

A bag containing the Quran is hung over the heads of the mother and the newborn baby. Each village has at least a midwife who assists in delivering the child. Because she is not properly trained in her profession, occasionally children and sometimes mothers die during childbirth. Many women die of excessive hemorrhaging during delivery. Immediately after the birth, the child is cleaned and washed and wrapped in a white cloth. A Mulla will say a prayer (Azan) in the child's ear and his mouth is sweetened with sugar cubes (Nabat). If the child is a boy, the family will celebrate the first few nights by inviting friends and relatives to spend the nights singing and telling stories. The guests are served tea and dry fruits, and these nights are called as Shao-e Shirini, i.e., the nights of sweet eating. Besides singing and story-telling, the game of throwing the cap behind, are played. (For Kola Pas Partao, see also a Dai Zangi Ghazal, in the chapter on language).

The visitors begin to arrive with gifts tied in handkerchiefs, for kerchiefs large and small, plain and decorated, are used for wrapping,

tying and covering all gifts and to offer congratulations by saying "chishm-e tu roshan," meaning "May your eyes be brightened."

Poor women return to their duties very shortly after the birth of their babies; others stay in bed for three to six days. Almost all Hazara women breast-feed their children, and little supplemental baby food is used during the first year. On the seventh day, the Mulla will give a name to the newborn baby, which is selected either from the Quran or from the names of the Prophets or their families. Sometimes secular names are selected with no religious affiliation.

Circumcision

The greatest occasion in the life of a boy is his circumcision ceremony. On this day, the surgeon-barbar arrives and prepares the room. The boy is allowed to lay down on his back, his feet astride, while his father grasps his ankles firmly. Another male relative holds the child's arms over his head, and the operation is swiftly performed with a sharp razor and the wound is cauterized with wood-ash. The barbar usually plays a trick with the child by pointing to the roof and telling the child to look at the bird or any other imaginary animal. The moment the child looks upward, the barbar performs his duty. When a number of children are to be operated on, they are circumcised one at a time, and each one is asked (or exhorted) to outdo each other in bravery.

Besides circumcision, Hazaras also celebrate their son's first head-shaving (Sar Kali), which usually occurs during his first year. The child is taken to a nearby Ziaratgah where an elder man will shave the boy's head. Friends and relatives take part in this ceremony and usually a small feast is held to mark the celebration. The head of a baby girl is not shaved.

When Hazara children reach the age of five or six, they are taken to the Islamic school (Maktab) where Akhund, the village Mulla, is responsible for their religious education. The father will give full authority to Mulla to train the child as a good Muslim by saying that, "His flesh is yours, his bones are mine," meaning "Chasten him if you think he needs it, but send him back to me." Girls are also taken to the Mulla but there is not as much enthusiasm in educating them. Instead, they are kept inside the house and trained in sewing, weaving and helping their mothers in the kitchen, and in nursing their baby brothers and sisters. The girls usually go into seclusion at the age of 12 to 13 years and if they have to go out, they will cover their bodies with a thick robe called Chadari. Between the ages of 13 to 15, both boys and girls

pass through a training period which not only prepares them to face the world on their own, but also creates a sense of responsibility and confidence.

Marriage

When the boy reaches the age of 18 and the girl reaches 16 years, the parents start looking for a suitable match. If a match is present within a family, i.e., parallel and cross cousins, the problem is solved. However, in the absence of a suitable mate, the family will look outside the family, and usually the help of a match-maker is sought. After the selection of the mate, the bride-price, the dowry, and the dates of engagement and wedding are set. Both rich and poor celebrate their marriages by a succession of feasts which brings a great financial burden upon the poor families. The rich Hazaras have no financial problem in celebrating these events, however, the common Hazara peasants will borrow money from the Afghan nomads.

The first event, among the succession of feasts connected with the wedding, is the Qand-Shikani (breaking of the sugar block) which means the announcement of the wedding. Only few close relatives and friends of the prospective bride and groom attend this part. The second event which follows is the Shirini-Khori (the eating of sweets). This is the engagement ceremony and a larger feast and larger group of people are invited. Both the families bring gifts and dresses for the boy and girl. Sometimes, the Nikah ceremony (signing of the marriage contract) is also performed during the Shirini-Khori. Depending upon the financial situation of the families concerned, the wedding is held as soon as conditions allow them to do so. Usually a brief and very limited event, known as Rakht-Burani (cutting of the clothes for bride dresses), is held before the wedding.

The actual wedding ceremony (Arusi) consists of several curious events like Nevoli (sending invitations), Takht-e Khina (tray of Henna), Sar-e Takht (standing on the stage), Nikah Khawni (signing of the contract), Rukhsati (farewell), Roi-Dedani (face-seeing), Aina-Masaf (looking at each other in the mirror), Dalda (the last wedding feast on the second day of wedding), and Takht Takani [the cleaning of the house by the bride on fifth or seventh day; literally, it means to beat the dust which has accumulated on the cushion (Takht) on which the bride was sitting 5 to 7 days].

Once the wedding date is fixed, a group of young girls deliver the invitations to the homes of friends and relatives. This is called Nevoli

and the messengers are called Nevol. On the night of the wedding, people start arriving at the groom's house, from where they go to the bride's home in a procession. They carry with them the bride's dressing, jewelry, sweetmeats, and large trays of Henna (a cosmetic prepared from the crushed leaves of an oriental shrub, used for dying the fingernails and palms) decorated with candies (Nuqol) and lighted candles. While proceeding to the bride's home, the young girls dance with the plates of Henna on their heads. Like a fairytale, the young girls are beautifully dressed and hold Henna trays decorated with burning candles, and dance in a circle in the darkness of the night. While Hazara men in general show their aversion from dancing, the Jaghuri men will dance during weddings. They call this dance Charkhak; and it has a resemblance to the Afghan's Atan Dance.

Upon arrival at the bride's place, the guests are served with cooked rice called Palao, and meat stew called Shorwa. After the dinner, the bride and groom are brought into the center of the room where Mulla, along with some other male relatives of the couple, complete the Nikah ceremony. The Mulla, in the presence of two male witnesses, will ask both the man and the woman to accept each other as husband and wife and if the husband would agree to pay a cash sum (Pusht-e-Qabala) to his wife if he ever divorces her. After this ceremony, the Mulla and his party leave the groom behind among the women. The next ceremony is Takht-e Khina, during which the bride's and groom's hands are painted with a thin paste of Henna and then covered with handkerchiefs. After this ceremony is over, the groom is sent back to the men's quarters and the women spend the rest of the night singing and dancing.

The next day the bride is prepared to depart to her new home. This is known as Rukhsati. If her home is nearby, she will be taken in a procession, walking all the way. However, if it is far away, a horse is used for her transportation. Usually before going to her new home, she will be taken to a nearby Ziaratgah to bless her marriage. The bride leaves behind a wailing crowd, prominent among them her mother, sisters, aunts and cousins, and sometimes her father. On her arrival into her new house, she is welcomed by her mother-in-law with burning of hermal seeds, as a prevention of the evil eye. She will pass under Quran, held over her head. Most of the visitors who came with the procession will depart to their houses after the evening meal, but many will stay to see the last part of the wedding, the Aina-masaf.

As the groom has not seen his bride, the coming evening is one of

the most exciting moments in his life. This evening he will for the first time his dream of so many years, his wife. After the evening meal, both husband and wife will sit in front of a mirror and the bride's face will be uncovered to enable the couple to see each other in the mirror (Aina-masaf). The couple will feed each other with a special sweet dish called Nan Malida and the husband will give his wife some present as Roi-Dedani or face seeing. After this ceremony, the couple is left alone in their privacy.

Next morning, some of the older women, including the groom's mother, will check the bedding of the couple to see if the girl was a virgin. Unlike the Afghans who check the virginity through male relatives,[19] the Hazaras leave this task to the elderly women and the men only come to know through their wives.[20] If a girl is found to be a virgin, the news is forwarded to her parents who are anxiously waiting for it. In cases where the girl is found to be non-virgin, it brings great shame to the family and she is referred to as "a widow on her wedding night." For the first few days, the bride is not supposed to work, but on the fifth or seventh day a few relatives get together and celebrate the last event, Takht takani, and a special dish is prepared to celebrate the feast. From this day onward, she will start working and will participate in the daily chores. She will not visit her parents until six months to one year have passed (an old Mongolian custom). She will be invited by her parents to celebrate her homecoming which they call Pai-wazi (feet opening). After Pai-wazi she is free to visit her parents as often as necessary.

Death

Like birth and marriage, death is also celebrated through several days of mourning. When an older person dies, the mourning magnitude and period are greater than for an infant child. When a person becomes very sick and there is no hope for his survival, the family members try to remain close to him. If he is feared to die the son or brother asks the person about his will. It is not customary for a Hazara to write his will in advance. At the last moment a person declares his/her will. It is the time when the people ask the dying person to forgive their faults if there are any. Usually both the parties ask each other's forgiveness. A dying person may ask his son or daughter to keep his missing fasts (Roza) or say his missing prayers (Namaz) after his death. When it is certain that a person is about to die, a Mulla or any male relative recites one of the chapters of Quran

(Sura Yasin) by sitting near his head. The purpose of such recitation is to give relief to the dying person. It is the belief of all Muslims that the person will die in peace if Sura Yasin is recited at the time of death.

When a person finally dies, his house turns into a mourning place. The relatives, especially the females, start screaming, crying, moaning and some, notably the wife, mother or sister of the deceased person will pull their hair and tear their clothing. While screaming, they start beating their chests, heads and even cheeks. Seeing their condition, the neighbors and the visitors cannot control themselves and also start crying and moaning. While the women are busy in lamentations, the male members gather to dig the ground in the graveyard, and arrange for the coffin: a white piece of cloth of certain length. The hands of the deceased person are laid across the body and the legs are straightened. If the dead person is a female, the corpse is washed by the female relatives; if a male, it is washed by a Mulla, helped by a few male relatives. The washing water also contains camphor and rose water. Before washing the body, all the body hair, head, armpits, and pubic hair are shaved. After the body is washed it is wrapped in a white cloth, leaving the face and hands open, and transferred to a cot (Charpai) to be carried to the cemetery. The funeral procession consists only of male relatives and neighbors. Four people take the cot on their shoulders and carry it towards the cemetery. Members of Qowmi and other neighbors take turns in carrying the body. As it is considered to be a good act (Sawab) to give shoulder to the dead's cot, most people volunteer to carry the body. At the cemetery the Mulla will offer the last prayer (Namaz-e Janaza) for the soul of the dead person and then he is buried according to the Muslim laws. A prayer (Fateha) is said at his grave and the people will return to the deceased person's home. As they enter the house they pass through a fireplace where hermal seeds are burned. This is done for the purification of the people who took part in the graveyard ceremony from bad spirits. For those who have touched the dead person's body, it is a must that they should take a bath before resuming their daily work.

When a person dies, he leaves behind a great burden on his family. The family is supposed to celebrate a special offering for the dead (Khyrat-e Murda). These celebrations consist of Shaw-e Soyum (the third night), Shaw-e Haftum (the seventh night), Chelum (the fortieth day), and Sali (the first anniversary). During these ceremonies the mourning family cooks dishes and invites the relatives and neighbors,

who will recite Quran and offer Fateha for the soul of the dead person. On the fortieth day the women go to the cemetery, taking with them a specially made sweet dish called Halwa-e Samanak, where they offer Fateha. Besides these special days, another day which has to be celebrated by the mourning family is the Shaw-e Eid-e Murda (the night of "Dead's Eid"). During this night, an animal is slaughtered and the Mulla and other guests who recite the Quran are served with special dishes. Candles are lighted for the soul of the deceased person.

During the first seven days the Qowmi kinsmen visit the house of the deceased person. Women especially regard it as obligation to visit the deceased house where an elderly relative woman will sit in the room where the person spent his/her last hours. The seating of the women in a specific room is known as Sar-e Gelim Shistan (sitting on the edge of the rug). During these seven days the guests are served tea and in Quetta, where many women smoke; tobacco is served with water pipes. Besides these ceremonies, the mourning family is not supposed to wear new dresses, and must abstain from marriages and other community celebrations. These restrictions are observed for at least the first year.

Amusement and Recreation

The daily routine of the Hazaras is usually broken by an appreciable amount of amusement. There are pastimes, both for adults and the children. Hazaras recreation is both indoors and outdoors, depending on the season. In the past, feudal chiefs would encourage the young men of their tribes to participate in sports and games. Their outdoor amusements were hunting and racing, in which they rode bareback. The winners would get a sheep or an ox from the chief. They also shot at marks with arrows.[21] Until the present time, shooting, racing, and wrestling were the common pastimes of young Hazara men. These outdoor games are only possible during the summertime, which is the busiest season for able-bodied men. The old men play a game known as Char Khat which resembles chess.

Boys play several outdoor games, which include Hide and Seek, Pig in the Middle (Kola Pas Partao), Head or Tail (Sher ya Khat), Knuckle Bones (Bojul Bazi), Odds and Evens (Taq wa juft), and Marbles (Goli Bazi). Girls usually play with their dolls and do household chores, copying their parents (Khana Bazi).

But much of the Hazaras recreation and amusement happens

during the long winter season when there is no outside work due to heavy snow. The winter evenings seem long in the outlying farms. There is no source of community recreation, and each family has to invent some kind of amusement to kill the boredom of the long winter season. They spend much of their time in storytelling, which is the result of their curiosity about the outside world.[22] The whole family congregates around the wood fire over which a table (Sandali) is placed. The table is covered with a large quilt. The family and their guests sit around it on cushions on the floor, drawing the quilt over their knees and tucked under their arms, or even drawn up to their chins. Thus, the whole evening is spent in telling folk tales which are humorous, frightening, or religious, and which have been handed down from generation to generation and form part of the treasured traditions of the Hazaras. Many families who have one educated member, listen to the stories from the religious books like Shah-nama of Sa'di, Arabian Nights, or Hafiz Shirazi's book. However, the most respected and valued book which they prefer to listen to is the Battles of Ali, (Hamla-e Haidari), the stories of battles which Imam Ali fought. The reading of this book brings the maximum crowd of listeners.

Besides listening to these beautiful pieces of literature, the winter nights also create many scary tales full of frightening scenes with indefinable spirits (jins and daves). The scene of a Hazara house with dark shadows in the corners of the room, with wild weather outside and gusty winds blowing and making strange sounds in the tense silence of the night, creates an ideal setting for scary tales. The setting is frightening enough to make small children cling to their mothers. Even the older children will not dare leave the room because of the fear created by the scary tales and the darkness of the night.

Women, unlike men and children, have little time to get bored. Whenever they have spare time, they visit relatives and neighbors and thus visitation is the only recreation for them. During these visits, news is shared, gossip is exchanged, children are compared, marriageable matches are discussed, and bridal outfits are examined. Besides these visits, they often go to the nearby Ziaratgah, either on their own or with other women of the community, to celebrate some social event. In the Jaghuri region, for recreation the teenage girls and young women sit on opposite sides of the room, resting on their palms and toes. While jumping forward like frogs they sing the following:

Alkhum Alkhum Alkhum Alkhum
Alkhum Rah-e Abad-a

Alkhum Tailo Khak bad-a
Alkhum Chob-e Shamshad-a
Alkhum Shan-e Shamad-a

During the fall and early spring, the women play a surprising game. It is not known whether it is an original Hazara game or whether it was introduced from Kabul, as it is also mentioned by Dupree.[23] The game is played in late fall when the first snow falls. Friends and relatives send small amounts of snow hidden in some cloth or in dry fruits. If the recipient does not discover the hidden snow, she will treat the other party, and if she does find the snow, then she will be treated. The same game is repeated in the spring when almond or apricot flowers appear for the first time; instead of snow, flower petals are sent to each other. The game of "I Remember But You Forgot" (Mara yad tora faramosh) is also played.[24]

Diet

The diet of the Hazaras could be described as the most simple diet that one could imagine. An idea may be formed of their privation of food from the fact that for centuries most of them could not afford to use salt in their food.[25] Though their diet, in general, is adequate in quantity, it is limited in quality. As they do not use many vegetables or fruits, deficiencies in Vitamins A and C are common. While they lack vegetable proteins, they obtain their animal protein from meat and milk products.

Although refrigeration is almost nonexistent, periods of long cold weather provides a natural means of preserving food, and thus spoilage is minimized. During the summertime, meat is consumed almost immediately. However, during wintertime, many well-to-do Hazaras slaughter one or two lambs and dry the meat for winter consumption. This dried meat is known as Gosht-e Qadid, and is considered most delicious. Hazaras seldom eat fish, though their streams are full of delicious fish. Their aversion to eating fish has been noted by several travelers.[26] Harlan has given very interesting, though not necessarily correct, information about their aversion to eating fish. He says that, "Fish are objected to because they have no throats to cut, and cannot therefore be killed according to the laws of the Koran." He also mentioned that though they consume eggs of fowl, they do not eat their meat because of their nondiscriminating voracity.[27] However, they no longer evidence an aversion to poultry, and consume it whenever it is

available.

Bread is their staple food, and it is baked on hot plates (Tawa) or in a sunken oven (Tandur). The bread baked on Tawa is usually unleavened (Pateer), and the bread baked in an oven is always leavened (Khameer). It is interesting to note that during Harlan's visit, the Hazaras did not use any leavened bread.[28] To leaven their dough, they use day-old dough as leavening, which they save after baking their daily bread. The dough is simply made by mixing the wheat or barley flour to which powdered legume is often mixed. The dough is prepared by kneading it and leaving it to rise for a few hours. Dried cow dung cakes are used for heating the ovens. Bread prepared on tawa is in thin sheets, while bread prepared in an oven is usually long, flat and puffy. Besides regular bread, the Hazaras also prepare a thick, brick-sized bread which is known as Nan-Buta. Usually such bread is prepared for the person who has to go on a long journey. Besides bread, rice is also consumed, but on a very limited scale and mostly on special occasions, as it is very expensive. They also like broad beans, lentils and chick-peas, which are either used in soups or ground to be mixed with wheat and barley flour.

Milk and milk products are an important segment of the Hazaras' diet. They do not consume fresh milk, but live mainly on milk products like curd, yogurt, butter, cream, and dried lumps of sour yogurt (Qurut). The source of their cooking oil is clarified butter and the fat obtained from the fatty portion of the sheep's tail, which is known as Roghan-e Dunba. Little or no vegetable oil is used for cooking.

A typical daily meal of a Hazara family consists of bread, soup, stew (shorwa), tea, and milk products like butter, curd, and buttermilk (Dogh). The soup and stew usually consists of beans, peas, meat, and sometimes spices, especially black pepper. Tea, both black and green, is a popular drink throughout Hazarajat. Even though it is very expensive and usually out of the common man's reach, they procure it by sacrificing other needs. They usually do not add sugar or milk to their tea, but consume it black or green. Tea is an essential part of breakfast and is taken with bread. Lunch or dinner consists of bread, stew or soup, and buttermilk as a beverage.

Fruits like watermelon are available only during the summertime, as is the case with vegetables. They grow some vegetables like cucumbers, eggplants, and onions, which they consume during the summer.

Ash, which is a mixture of noodles, sour cream, and clarified butter, is a popular dish. Another dish is **Shola**, in which meat, cereal,

several spices, and clarified butter (ghee) are combined into a thick gummy pudding. Once in a while a palao is made, which consists of cooked rice and pieces of mutton or chicken with several spices, especially black pepper and a large quantity of fried onion and garlic. Another dish is called **Qurti**, which is made of cooked rice, sour cream, and clarified butter (ghee). The cooked rice is poured into a large tray and a well is formed in the center. The well is filled with liquefied yogurt (Qurut), over which the boiled ghee with fried onion is poured. Sometimes a few hot green peppers are also added to the boiled ghee.

Tafa is another dish which is made of leftover bread. Onion is fried into ghee and some spices and salt are added, along with a large quantity of water. When the sauce starts boiling, a few eggs are added which, upon cooking, will come to the surface. The eggs are separated from the sauce, and the small pieces of bread are added to soak up the sauce. After 15 to 20 minutes, this mixture is poured onto plates, and the eggs are spread on top of the soaked bread. Because of scarcity of sugar, little or no desserts are made by Hazaras. However, on special days like the seventh day after a person dies, and on the night of Eid of the Dead, a special dish is prepared and called **Halwa-e Samanak**. Samanak are wheat grains grown in a moist cheesecloth. When the shoots are about to come out they are dried and made into a powder. The Halwa is made of wheat flour, Samanak powder, sugar, and a large quantity of ghee. A large frying pan (Karai) is used for this purpose. The ghee is boiled and then sugar and Samanak are added. To this, wheat flour is added little by little, while mixing it vigorously until the flour is soaked into the ghee. For the next two days, the mixture is stirred by two women who take turns. After the laborious work, the Halwa is ready and is served like Qurti, making a well in the center of the plate which is filled with ghee. The Halwa is formed into a ball, like a meatball. Before eating it, it is dipped into ghee because it is very gummy and a dip in ghee will prevent it from sticking inside the mouth. Another common Hazara dish is **Ogra**. It is prepared by bringing water to a boil, adding wheat flour and salt, and stirring for a while. When it is cooked, then ghee and diluted Qurut are added. **Kocha** is also a popular dish made of meat, wheat grains, and chick-peas, all of which are boiled in enough water to make a thick soup.

Tobacco is used in different ways. It is smoked using a waterpipe (Chilem), as well as taken into the mouth as a mixture of powdered tobacco and lime (Naswar). Snuff taking is common among the people

who can afford to buy it. It has been used by the ruling class for a long time.[29] Hashish (Charas) smoking, which is so popular among the Afghans, is seldom found among the Hazaras. Opium (Taryaq) is consumed by a smaller number of people who use it as a pain reliever or as a cough suppressant. Alcohol is prohibited by Islamic law and it is therefore hard to find a person who will drink in public or confess that he drinks in private. However, curious observers like Iwamura[30] have suggested that the resourceful Hazaras indulge themselves with liquor they make out of sheep or goat milk. Such a custom of making liquor out of fermented mare's milk has been reported by Harlan.[31] Between Harlan's and Iwamura's times the Hazaras not only forgot the making and use of liquor, but also substituted milk products instead of liquor. Also, the use of mare's milk was abandoned and sheep's and cow's milk came into the picture. The leather bag (Mashk), which was exclusively used by the 13th century Mongols for making liquor out of horse's milk,[32] is now used for sheep's and cow's milk products.

Sickness and Medicine

Some of the common diseases in Hazarajat are gastrointestinal infections, typhoid, whooping cough, measles, leprosy, tuberculosis, rheumatoid arthritis and malaria. Many children die because of measles, whooping cough and gastrointestinal diseases. Many adults suffer from tuberculosis and rheumatoid arthritis.

While tuberculosis and leprosy are the most devastating diseases in the Hazarajat, an alarming situation exists in infant mortality. It has been recorded that child survival rates are only 608 per 1,000 live births.[33]

While there is a general shortage of doctors throughout Afghanistan; Hazarajat, in particular, suffer from such shortages. The number of doctors per person is extremely low. For example, while Kabul, the capital city, has a ratio of one doctor per 23,000 persons, the figures for Hazarajat are extremely high. One study shows the following figures for the central provinces:[34]

Province	Doctors Per Person
Ghazni	1:284,000
Ghor	1:330,000
Bamian	1:336,000
Wardak	1:420,000
Uruzgan	1:513,000

While the country as a whole has a bed-to-patient ratio of 1:5,599, the figures for the central provinces are four to six times higher. For example, the following table will show the critical shortage in medical facilities.[35]

Province	Bed-to-Patient Ratio
Bamian	1:21,200
Ghazni	1:28,720
Ghor	1:14,850
Uruzgan	1:37,308

In the entire region of Hazarajat, only Yak Aolang has a 16-bed hospital with two doctors and four nurses on duty. Both Panjao and Lal have small health clinics, the latter one being a mobile unit.[36]

In the absence of doctors and hospitals, many people go to their Mullas or to the village herbalist. The Mulla usually draws a charm, and the herbalist will give him some medicine made of herbs. One of the common medicines that these herbalists prescribe is a harsh laxative (Sana). Opium is another type of medicine which is usually prescribed for cough and chest pain. Usually children with whooping cough are given juices which contain dried poppy shells (Kokonar).

Several people specialize in one of the several curing professions. Mullas and Sayeds will be asked to cure a person with mental sickness, which is considered to be the work of supernatural beings or the work of witchcraft. Some people cure broken bones, joints, and limbs. These people, through their hereditary skills and experience, have achieved an extraordinary manipulative power and confidence in their ability. To purify blood, leeches are used for blood letting, which is performed by gypsies who sometimes visit southern Hazarajat. In the case of a severe fever, the patient is wrapped in animal skin, usually a sheep's skin, which causes excessive perspiration. One of the most successful, though very painful, cures for rheumatic problems is burning the skin over the diseased part. An iron piece is heated until it becomes red and placed on the joint. The burned skin is treated with herbs which heals within a few weeks, leaving a round scar on the body. This operation is called Dagh Zadan. For snake bites, a gallstone of a wild sheep (Bezoar) is used. The stone is rubbed over the bitten place and, being porous, it draws the poison through absorption.

Those who can afford it will go to Kabul or other towns to seek medical treatment. But this is limited to some wealthy Hazaras and

much of the population, who could not afford this, depend totally upon their local medications, which mostly fail to cure them. The Hazarajat was a place once referred to as the healthiest region in Central Asia,[37] however, it is no longer true. Every kind of disease and illness have invaded the Hazarajat. Besides these diseases, several strange habits have been introduced among both Hazara men and women. One such habit is the practice of geophagy (soil eating) which was introduced among Besud women who returned after their residence an Kabul.[38] Thanks to the Hazara Mullas, the Hazara women were saved from craving clay, which prevented this practice from spreading to other regions. The Mullas, however, failed to stop women from smoking, which also was introduced by Kabul women.

Dress and Ornaments

The Hazara men's and women's dresses are simple and plain. Much of the fabrics are handmade and consist of wollen and leather materials. Cotton fabric is purchased from the Afghan nomads. Their garments are loose fitting with gray and red as the dominant colors. (Plate No. 4)

The men's dress consists of a cap, a turban, a long shirt, a loose fitting pantaloon, a waistcoat and a woolen cloak with long sleeves. During cold weather, the men wrap a roll of woolen material around their legs. The men wear long boots (Kapee) which they make themselves. During summer, they wear Peshawari sandles which are traded from nomads. Under their boots, they wear thick woolen socks for which they are well known. The footwear which Harlan called "sooklies" no longer exists. These sooklies were made in a strange way which Harlan described as:

> "Sooklies are prepared from the fresh skin of a horse, bullock, or camel. The feet are wrapped in the skin with the hair outside and tightly sewed on, reaching a trifle above the ankle. These sooklies should be laced tightly."[39]

The women's footwear is known as Paizar, a moccasin type shoe, which is made of leather and decorated with silk and gold embroidery.

One interesting factor about the Hazara dress is the headdress. Both men and women wear a skull cap which sits close to their head. A few men also wear white or gray turbans over their caps, and these are tied in such a way that one end hangs over the shoulder. The turban is a part of the women's headdress, which is usually decorated with coins and glass beads. The turban is about two or three yards long and about

Courtesy of K. Ferdinand, 1976

Plate No. 4: Hazara Woman in Traditional Dai Zangi Dress

one yard wide. It is worn over the cap, wide and full. This turban (Chadar) also serves as a veil when worn outside the compound. Some of the wealthy men wear expensive turbans (Lungis) from Peshawar and a few wear the Qaraqul caps. A few also wear hats made of sheep's skin which was once in common use.[40]

The majority of the Hazara male population shave their heads, and instead of going to barbers they reciprocate by shaving each other's head. To their tradition, the Afghans say that, "Hazarajat has nothing but 30,000 barbers."[41] Women wear long hair which is parted in the center and the locks are plaited into one or two bands which hang down their backs. These plaited bands of hair are tied with cotton or silken tassels (Moi Band). Usually the hair over the forehead (Pecha) is plastered on the side by a thick paste of gum (Katira).

The jewelry and the cosmetics used by the Hazara women are next to nothing. The jewelry most common among Hazara women is a necklace made of coins connected by a thread or an iron chain. Some women have a silver ring or bracelet or an earring. Their common cosmetic is mascara for the eyes, walnut tree bark for whitening teeth and coloring lips (Dandahsa). Though not very common, Hazara women practice tatooing. Usually a small mole-sized tatoo (Khal-e Sawz) is made on the forehead, at the base of the chin, or at the roots of the fingers. Men do not participate in tatooing and it is interesting that Mullas are against the custom. They say that it is non-Islamic to deform one's own body.

Hararas' Wealth

For the Hazaras living in Hazarajat, wealth consists of livestock, accumulated cow dung and hay, tools, implements, carts, buildings, stone corrals, interior furniture and kitchen utensils, jewelry, and money. However, livestock is the outstanding criteria of wealth in the Hazara society.

References

1. Schurmann, Mongols: 152, Note #4
2. Canfield, Faction & Conversion: 45
3. Elphinstone: 2: 210
4. Hamilton, Vizier's Daughter: 2-3
5. Faiz: 809, 816, 819, 891
6. Ferdinand, Preliminary Notes: 6
7. Davydov: 38
8. Harlan: 137
9. Hudson & Bacon: 37
10. Canfield, Faction & Conversion: 76
11. Ferdinand, Preliminary Notes: 27-29
12. Ibid: 27-28
    Trinklel: 7
13. Ferdinand, Preliminary Notes: 27
14. Harlan: 121-122
15. Ibid: 150
16. Canfield, Faction & Conversion: 44
17. Ferdinand, Preliminary Notes: 49
18. Howorth, History of the Mongols: 4: 201
19. Dupree, Afghanistan: 203
20. Canfield, Faction & Conversion: 203
21. MacGregor: 2: 320
22. Harlan: 153
23. Dupree, Afghanistan: 213
24. Ibid: 213
25. MacGregor: 2: 329
26. Harlan: 112;
    Ferdinand, Preliminary Notes: 32
27. Harlan: 112
28. Ibid: 154
29. Martin: 90
30. Iwamura, Problems: 14: 213
31. Harlan: 154
32. Iwamura, Problems: 14: 210
33. Afghanistan Annual Statistics: 34
34. Statistic Pocketbook: 132
35. Fischer: 133
36. Afghanistan Annual Statistics: 2, 16, 37
37. Hayat Khan: 305
38. Bacon, Inquiry: 7: 249-250
39. Harlan: 129
40. Thesiger, Hazaras: 317
41. Ferdinand, Preliminary Notes: 37

10

Kinship Organization

Marriage

Like other Muslim communities, the Hazaras also follow the endogamy of Islam. Except for the incest taboos which, according to the Muslims, do not allow the marriage between certain relatives, the Hazaras do not follow strict rules governing the choice of a mate. The relatives not allowed to marry are brothers and sisters, aunts and uncles, nephews and nieces. All forms of cousin marriages, both cross and parallel, are not only allowed, but are the most desired mates. However, the most preferred mate is the daughter or son of paternal uncles followed by daughter or son of maternal uncles, paternal and maternal aunts. Beyond the cousin marriages, it is generally considered that the closer the relationship, the better the mate. The stepbrother and sister marriage is allowed provided that they have no common parentage. However, they are not allowed to marry if they have shared the milk of one woman. Such a situation arises when an orphaned child is given in the custody of another nursing mother. These children are considered as brother and sister as they have a

common "milk-mother" (Madar-e Shiri).

Hazaras practice sister exchange marriages (two men exchange sisters), as well as paired-sibling marriages (two brothers marry two sisters). Frequently, the levirate marriages (marrying one's widowed sister-in-law) and sororate marriages (marrying one's widowed brother-in-law) also occur. These kinds of marriages become a necessity when the widow or widower has small children and a brother-in-law or a sister-in-law is available for marriage.

During the past, endogamy (with respect to the clan) was a general rule. If a member of a clan could not find a suitable mate within his family or relatives, he would look for it within his village. And if he still could not find a suitable mate, he will go further and search within his clan and so on. The purpose for such a lengthy process was to find a suitable spouse within one's own family, village or tribe. Though it is still practiced among the decendants of the ruling families and the Sayeds, the custom is dying among the common Hazara. Once this feeling was so strong, even among the common Hazaras, that a Hazara from Yak Aolang, who might have his residence in Besud, would go back to his village and search for his mate and get married. Because of the breakdown of their tribal institution after the loss of their war, they do not put much emphasis on the mates of their own clan or close relatives, though it is still considered to be the best match for the marriage. This is especially true in towns and the rural areas where many different Hazara tribes live together. Thus, exogamy is becoming more and more popular, even among the distant villagers. Perhaps it could be attributed to the awareness that all the Hazaras are one and that the tribal division was a matter of the past.

There are several reasons behind the motive for endogamy. Because of their rights and social influence among the common Hazaras, the elites, the Khans, the Mirs, etc., always try to marry within the close circle of their own relatives. This act ensures that the family wealth remains within the family, and they have succeeded in keeping a social distance from the commoners, which is so important for their elevated social status. Sometimes they marry for political purposes, thus uniting the different warring tribes. Mir Yazdan Bakhsh, a Besud chief in the early 19th century, succeeded in uniting the tribes of Dai Zangi, Besud, and Shaikh Ali by taking wives from these tribes.[1]

The Sayeds who are the most respected and most influential group also practiced endogamy. Their influence is, however, not due to their

wealth but rather their ancestry. They are believed to be the decendants of Prophet Mohammad's daughter Fatima. In order to keep their influence among the Hazara masses, they behave as excellent persons and serve as models for their followers, and many have kept their sematic features until this day. However, because of their small numbers in Hazarajat (with the exception of Yak Aolang region where they form the majority of the population), they take Hazara wives. The Mongoloid features of many Sayeds are the results of such exogamy. In some instances, the Khan or Mir will give his daughter to a Sayed, thus combining their influences in exploiting the common Hazaras. This cooperation of Khan and Sayed have strengthened the Hazara feudalism and caused human exploitation in the Hazara society for a long time.

Though polygamy is allowed and in some places still exists, monogamy is the most prevalent form of marriage thoughout Hazarajat. Perhaps one of the most important reasons for such a lower number of polygamists in Hazarajat is their economy. Because of their poor economic conditions and the fact that the bride-price is so high, polygamy is a luxury which only rich people can afford. While it is difficult to find a common Hazara peasant having two wives, there are several Mirs and Khans who have several wives. Economy plays the most important role in checking the polygamy practice, yet awareness of religious principles is also responsible for such check. It is the Mullas and the Sayeds who tell the Hazaras that, "God will not forgive the person who will marry two women, but who failed to exercise equal justice." By justice, the Mulla means that he should treat both wives equally in every respect.

One can take his second wife from the same family, but cannot marry two sisters at a time. As long as the first sister is alive, the man is not allowed to marry her second sister. He can marry the second sister if the first one is deceased or divorced. Sometimes if a girl dies before her marriage and the boy's father has already paid the bride-price, the girl's family would give their second daughter to that person.

The first wife is always selected among the first and second cousins. However, for the second or third marriage, the man has to look outside the family. Most of the people avoid giving their daughters in marriage to a person who is already married, as they realize that their daughters would never be happy with a man having more than one wife. Knowing the situation very well, that person would spend more money than before, and select a mate who is not

from his kin. Schurmann[2] has noted that in order to marry a second or third wife, the endogamous groups like Daulat Begs of Dai Kundi marry outside their group.

Several reasons could be cited for the Hazaras' practice of polygamy. Among the most important is the desire for a child, especially a male child. If a woman is barren and fails to give her husband a child, her in-laws will force her husband to marry another woman who could give him a child. The woman is usually blamed for childlessness, even though the man might be sterile. It is not only the man's desire to have a child, but most pressure comes from his mother who wants to have a grandchild. As divorce is not considered to be a viable solution, the wife reluctantly allows her husband to marry again. The adoption of children is not practiced among Hazaras. It is not only that there may not be a mother who will allow her child to be adopted, but also it is considered to be a sin to give one's child up for adoption. To give one's child to someone else is considered being ungrateful to God, as children are considered gifts from Him. Besides, it is considered to be an act of shame to give up one's children. The second reason for the Hazaras' practice of polygamy, though not very common, is the sickness of the first wife. Under such circumstances, being sick and unable to do her daily chores or care for her small children allows her husband to get married again. The second wife will therefore help the husband to bring the house to order. The third reason is the desire for more children. Large numbers of children not only instill a sense of security in the husband's old age, but also provide an abundance of help. The fourth reason, which is very rare, is the man's fantasy to enjoy the company of more than one wife.

When a man marries a second wife he provides for her a second room within the same compound. However, both wives eat together, cook together and divide the household chores. Soon, in most cases, the first wife establishes her authority either through her experience or by pressing her husband. This is especially true when the wife voluntarily suggests her husband to take another wife for assistance in the household. However, if she could not establish her authority over the second wife, the rivalry of co-wives begins and thus starts the unending quarrels.

The relationship between the co-wives is not always pleasant. Severe jealousy does arise when one wife is neglected at the expense of the other. But mostly the problem arises due to the children. If children of one wife are favored over the other's, a bitter quarrel could

take place, or the fight between children could cause a fight between the co-wives. However, if their husband is a dominant man, then the co-wives get along very well and the quarrels are minimized.

In selecting a mate for their son, the parents go through a rigorous process of selection. While the girl's family background is the most important factor, the Hazaras also cherish an ideal of the prospective bride. She should be virtuous, know the usual feminine tasks and be physically attractive. A daughter-in-law is valued for her docility. She should be aware of her religious duties also. Although the girl's education is not given much attention, it is considered to be a good quality if she can read and recite the Quran.

While most marriages, especially among close relatives, do not involve the custom of bride-price (Gala), this practice still exists in the exogamy marriages. The prospective husband is supposed to pay all the money before the marriage takes place. Sometimes the man pays in installments and thus takes a few years to pay the entire bride-price. Under certain arrangements, the man sometimes pays the bride-price through his services; for example, he works on the land of his future father-in-law for a specific time and when the bride-price is paid he quits his job to get married.

After bride-price, the most common way to acquire a wife is through the custom of exchange marriage (Badal). Under this arrangement, a sister or daughter is usually exchanged and, in return, a wife for her brother or sometimes for her father is acquired. If girls from both the families are marriageable, marriages are held at the same time and exchange occurs on the same day. However, if one girl is a minor and the other is marriageable, then the minor will stay in her home until she reaches the marriageable age.

The influence of Mullas and Sayeds is also seen in the methods of obtaining a wife. While bride-price and exchange are the most common methods, a marriage without the involvement of any worldly item is gaining popularity. The Hazaras call the custom Shari'at or marriage conducted to the simple Islamic rules. According to Shari'at, the man will agree to pay a certain amount of cash called Mahr (Pusht-e Qabala) if he deserts or divorces his wife. Usually this money is not paid until the actual divorce happens. This sum is asked by the woman's parents for the sake of their daughter's financial security. This Mahr ranges from a few Afghanis to several thousand Afghanis.

Under the exchange custom, things work fine. Because of mutual

fear and respect, women are treated nicely by both families. However, if one family finds that their daughter is not being treated well, they will reciprocate by treating their bride poorly. Thus, under a constant threat of mistreatment, both the families are extremely cautious in treating their daughters-in-law. The other benefit of exchange marriage is that both the families are relieved from the burden of paying large amounts of money as bride-price. The families, on the other hand, do not feel the loss of one member as she will be replaced by the arrival of a new member. And because of this custom, the men usually marry at an earlier age, compared to the men who have to work for a longer period of time in order to earn the bride-price.

In spite of some benefits, however, there are problems related to exchange marriages. For instance, if one girl is married earlier and the other girl dies before her marriage, the matter becomes complicated. The parties who could not fulfill their obligation because of the death agree upon paying a cash price, and the other parties insist on getting their woman back. Sometimes, through the interference of Sayed or village elders, the second party finally accepts the cash and will use this cash as bride-price to some other suitable family. Similar situation also arise when one of the men does not come true to the expectations of the girl's parents. It could be due to a serious disease like tuberculosis, partial paralysis, or loss of eyesight.

Once a woman is married, she leaves her natal homestead and goes to her husband's home. This means that she no longer belongs to her father's lineage; she has been removed from her father's territory. From now on, she will be considered as part of the family and will consider her husband's lineage as her own. As money or exchange has been paid, she will be considered as the property of the family. This ownership does not end with the death of her husband. If a young woman becomes a widow she will not return to her parents' house. It is the duty of her in-laws to take care of her and her children. Under usual circumstances, the younger son of that family will marry the widowed woman (levirate marriage), and raise the children of his brother. It would be a matter of shame for the family to let their widowed daughter-in-law go back to her parents' home, and economically it would be a great loss for the family. Thus, becoming a widow of a woman in her younger age also contributes to the practice of polygamy.

The responsibility of the family toward their daughter does not end with her departure to her new home. The family keeps an eye on the

well-being of their daughter. This is one of the reasons why Hazaras show a reluctance in giving their daughters to men who live in distant regions. As a matter of fact, most of the Hazara women never move more than a short distance from their parents' home so the families are able to look after their wedded daughters.

While most of the women leave their natal homes after marriage, circumstances sometimes lead the man to live with his in-laws. Financial conditions of the man is the main motive behind such a custom. If the man is poor or his in-laws do not have any male members in the family, he will move to his in-laws' homestead and live with them. He will be known a Khana-Damad, or in-house son-in-law. Usually after the death of his father-in-law, he will take care of the property and the well-being of the family.

Dowry

In order to get married, many Hazara men have to pay a bride-price which sometimes causes a considerable delay and thus they marry in their later years. It is not uncommon to see a young Hazara girl married to an older man. Since such marriages are arranged by the parents, frequently the man and woman are incompatible. This incompatibility is so common that it has become part of their poetry. For example, one such girl is complaining about her old husband in the following couplet:

Sar-e koh-e biland zardak na musha
Dil-e dukhtar da peer mardak na musha
(Don't expect to find carrots growing on mountain tops; nor will you find love in a young girl's heart for an old man.)

She gives the reason for not loving the old husband as:

Mardak-e peer ja-e bab-e ma musha
Jovo bacha noor-e deed-e ma musha
(The old man is like a father to me; however, it is the young boy who is the apple of my eye.)

She further tells us the reason for not loving her old husband as:

Ki peer mardak aib-e degar na dara
Singir she sust-a chol she lak na musha
(The old man has no other faults except that his sinews are weak and he cannot get an erection.)

The dowry has always been of importance among the Hazaras. The main purpose of asking the bride-price is to provide the woman

with a suitable dowry, and in no way is it intended to make a profit from the sale of their daughters. Thus, in most cases, the higher the bride-price the more the dowry will be. The elite families especially emphasize a higher bride-price so that in return they may give an impressive dowry. Harlan described the situation as:

> "With the Hazarrahs, this custom (dowry) is blazoned forth as an object, as a creditable display--the price thus given being returned to the suitor with an equal addition in the form of a dowry. This consists of household necessaries and a liberal outfit to the pair. A chief will receive for his daughter several thousand sheep-three or four thousand, according to his rank--many horses and several slaves, the value or more than the value of which the father gives to the groom for the necessary provision of an expensive establishment, as horses, slaves, felts, carpets, and clothing. The marriage settlement is thus arranged by an interchange of presents, the extent of which is contended for on the part of the lady's friends, with singular pertinacity, as the value of these presents are esteemed a proof of the female's appreciation and her family importance in the community."[3]

The conditions in respect to the custom of dowry have not changed from those Harlan described in the second quarter of the 19th century. Still the poor men are restrained in the consummation of their connubial attachments and often continue unmarried in consequence of their inability to pay the bride-price.

Divorce

The Hazaras respect the institution of divorce and follow the simple Islamic principle by saying three times, "I divorce you." It is unfair to say that among the Hazaras divorce is not permitted at all.[4] It is also untrue that divorce is only an option for the husband and that the women have no such option.[5] As a matter of fact, both sexes have freedom of choice, though women seldom exercise such a freedom. There are several reasons which discourage the women from seeking a divorce. First, divorce is always considered to be an unrespected institution and thus a person loses his or her social status. Second, it brings a bad name to the family. Third, and the most important reason, is the financial dependency of women on their husbands. In a society like the Hazaras, who are so shame conscious, divorce brings shame to both the families and thus the instituion is heavily frowned

upon. For example, among the Jaghuri, both the families would try to persuade the man to spare them the shame of divorce, and in compensation allow him to take a second wife of his own choice.[6] Under such circumstances, the life of the first wife will be beyond imagination. In order to keep the name and honor of the family, the poor woman has to suffer for the rest of her life. A divorced woman, especially from a poor family or having no parents, sees no alternative except to forget the divorce. On the man's part, divorce is not an easy process either. He will be called a Zantalaq or wife divorcee, which in the 19th century was considered highly offensive and unbearable.[7] The situation among the villagers is the same to this day.

Divorce creates a great disturbance among the Hazara families. This is especially true when an exchange of women has taken place. If one party divorces the woman, the other party has to obey the custom by returning their woman. It does not matter if the other woman is living happily with her in-laws. While children remain behind with the ex-husband, the dowry is returned along with the woman. The divorced woman has no right to custody of her children, neither does she have the right of visitation. This is such a terrible situation that it alone deters the woman from seeking a divorce. This is what happens in the Hazara society and this is why women seldom exercise their rights to get a divorce. However, if a woman succeeds in getting a divorce because of bad treatment, impotency of her husband, or due to her immorality, she will return to her natal homestead, and if she can find another suitable mate she will marry again. There are no restrictions on her second marriage, but her chances are few.

Premarital and extramarital sex are very uncommon. It is considered to be a crime to look at another man's wife or daughter. Every Hazara is expected to honor the females of the community. Not only looking at, but also laughing or talking with a strange woman are considered to be crimes. If a man finds his wife or daughter in a premarital or extramarital act, he has the right to kill her. Such were the practices at least among the Uruzgani tribe.[8]

Even under such traditional rules, adultery does occur. To handle such situations, the Hazara family takes an appropriate action which successfully checks the spread of sexual laxity. For example, Hudson and Bacon[9] have reported that a couple were found guilty of premarital sexual relations and they were forced to marry due to the pressure of the community. This situation is true in almost all parts of Hazarajat. Premarital and extramarital sexual relationship are controlled successfully

through the instillation of fear in childhood--the fear of God and the fear of shame in the society.

Inheritance

Most of the Hazaras, through the influence of Mullas and Sayeds, follow the Muslim laws of inheritance. However, in scattered instances, they do not observe the strictness of the laws, usually because of economic unfeasibility of the division. Women, especially the married daughters, seldom receive their share of inheritance after their father's death. It is commonly agreed upon that the dowry given to the daughter is her share of the inheritance and therefore she does not have any right to further inheritance. If no dowry was paid, she will receive a cash equivalent of the land she would otherwise have received in inheritance.

According to the Muslim law, the inheritance should be divided among the beneficiaries as one half to the male child and one half to the female child. However, because of such small units of land in Hazarajat, further division of such land would not be economical. Therefore, the division is avoided and thus keeps an economically superior unit. The land remains registered under the deceased father's name in the government record. If the land is too small to support the large family, the younger brothers will get their share in cash and leave the land to the eldest brother. However, when the land is of considerable size, the land is managed by the family as a unit. The situation of Dai Kundi described by Iwamura and Schurmann applies to most of Hazarajat. According to these authors:

> "When a man dies, the son goes before the Mulla who determines the Taqsim (division of property) according to the Shari'at. Then they appear before the Qazi who issues them a sealed certificate called Sanad. Thereupon the land is registered in the name of the heirs. In the case of Anwar Khan, however, no division was made at the time of the death of the father, and the land of the family is still registered in the father's name. Although a formal, equal division of the property according to the law of the Shari'at was not made, an actual, unequal division between the three sons was carried out. This was done by agreement of the three male heirs among themselves."[10]

The children born through Mut'a marriages are considered legitimate and therefore have equal rights of inheritance along with

their stepbrothers and stepsisters who are born through regular marriages. However, such cases are very rare as few people in Hazarajat practice Mut'a for the sake of having children.

Kinship

A common Hazara tradition is that all Hazaras are blood brothers and share the same ancestry. Their tradition can be traced from their saying that "Tamam Hazara yek-a" (all the Hazaras are one). They trace their ancestry unilaterally, connect themselves to Chengiz Khan, and call themselves as Aulad-e Chengiz Khan, or the children of Chengiz Khan.

In Hazara society, kinship has played a very important role and kept them as a cohesive and solidified group. Almost all the members of this group will be related through patrilineal kinship, i.e., in the male or father's line. The members of such a kinship group feels a strong moral obligaton towards each other. Such a feeling of closeness is also enhanced by their living together in the same village. However, the Hazara feeling of kinship (Khanawar), which is very strong at the level of the household, decreases gradually with the lineage, section, tribe and entire nation of Hazara. Such a kinship feeling could be demonstrated by the following example of a man belonging to the Zoghi section of the Uruzgan tribe. If asked about his loyalty to his household compared to his tribe, he will explain that he will fight with his agnatic cousin, but when another person from Babuli of Uruzgan fights with his cousin or another member of Zoghi, they will fight against Babuli as one. When a Maska (of Jaghuri tribe) fights any section of Uruzgani, then Uruzgani will fight against Maska as one. However, when Maska are attacked by Waras (of Dai Kundi tribe) they will be on the side of Maska because they are neighbors. However, if Waras are attacked by Afghans, then they will fight them as one, and that is what happened in the last decade of the 19th century.

The pervasive influence of kinship forces the Hazaras not only to address their household members through suitable relationship terms, but also members of the distinct relative families. For example, when members of the same village meet each other, they greet each other by special relationship terms, even though the relationship does not exist. The members of younger generations under such circumstances would address an older man as Tata, Kaka or Abagha (Uncle) and an older woman as Khala or Amma (Aunt). They never address their elder

members of the family or the community by their names; instead, they use appropriate terms. If a person has children, he or she will be addressed as father of so and so, and mother of so and so. The younger members of the community, on the other hand, are called by their names.

Kinship Terminology

A comparison of the kinship terminology shows that there is little difference among the Hazara tribes occupying different regions of Hazarajat. The most interesting thing about the Hazara kinship terminology is the presence of large number of Mongolian and Turkish words which are more or less present in every tribe of Hazaras. For example, while "Abagha," "Naghachi," "Jei'a," "Bola," "Boja" are Mongolian terms, Turkish terms as "Dai" and "Ata" also exist, side by side. Some Arabic terms like "Amma" and "Khala" also exist.

Most of the Hazara kinship terms are used for reference purposes, although some are additionally used for address. For example, the reference terms for father is "Ata," which will become "Ata-e" if the father is addressed. Similarly, "Aba" for mother will be "Aba-e," "Tata" as "Tata-e" for uncle, and "Khala" as "Khala-e" for aunt. There is a difference between the kinship terms used by either sex. While there are special kinship terms for grandparents and grandchildren, they do not, however, distinguish whether they are from the mother or father or from son or daughter. The husband and wife address each other not by name, but by teknonymic terms like "Babe-so and so" (father of so and so) and "Abe-so and so" (mother of so and so). While the unmarried children are called by their parents by their names, they will be addressed by the above teknonymic terms. All the relatives and other members of the community will follow the example of their parents in addressing them as father or mother of so and so.

Besides these kinship terms, the Hazaras also use terms denoting special friendship. Terms such as "Khonda" are used by both sexes. A "Birar-Khonda" means an adopted brother, and a "Khwar-Khonda" refers to an adopted sister. Usually such adoption occurs when a man does not have a sister, or a woman does not have a brother, and such adoptions are noted among the relatives and close neighbors, not strangers. Both the adopted brothers and sisters take an oath on Quran that they will treat each other like blood brother and sister and will do anything for the well-being of each other. Once they are adopted, they cannot marry each other and throughout their life, they

address each other as brother and sister. Both married and unmarried persons adopt sisters and brothers for each other.

The Hazara kinship has not been studied in full. The preliminary studies of the incomplete kinship of Dai Kundi show that if Murdock's method is followed, it will make a Sudanese kinship type.[11] On the other hand, incomplete kinship terms collected from Besud, Timuri, and Uruzgani informants suggest it as A-type according to the Lowie system of classification.[12] Further studies of complete kinship terms are needed for full understanding. An incomplete list of kinship terminology is given on the following pages (Table No. 1).

Lineage and Genealogy

For the Hazaras as a whole, for those whom kinship feelings and loyalty are strong, it is understandable to find concern about ancestry. As already mentioned, beyond one's immediate family, obligations are stronger to members of the patrilineal kinship. Thus, one finds a group of families related through the paternal line occupying individual villages or living in a large village together with unrelated groups of families.

The large number of Hazara tribal sections and subsections suggests that a process of lineage, which took several centuries, created these sections. When the Mongols settled in the present-day Hazarajat, they ruled the region through the Mongol army and civilian officers. As the central power declined, these officers became the feudal lords with nominal attachment to their Khans. As their families grew larger and larger, the male members started moving to the new areas and established their own lordships. Once they acquired the land, they started their own lineage which slowly grew larger, and in a century or two became sections, sub-tribes and even tribes. Because of their continuous wars, some of these sections were defeated and either destroyed or absorbed into the powerful conquering tribe. This fact could be found through the observations of the early 19th century explorers who mentioned the names of certain sections and sub-tribes of Hazara which do not exist today.

It seems that most of the lineage or sub-tribes of the future were formed by the male children of a powerful person. While it was not necessary that all the sons of such a person would automatically form a section, the Mongol history shows that in the former days it was a common occurrence. For example, the ancestor of all the Mongols, Borta-Chino, is shown in the genealogy to have formed no lineage,[13] as

Table No. 1: Kinship Terminology

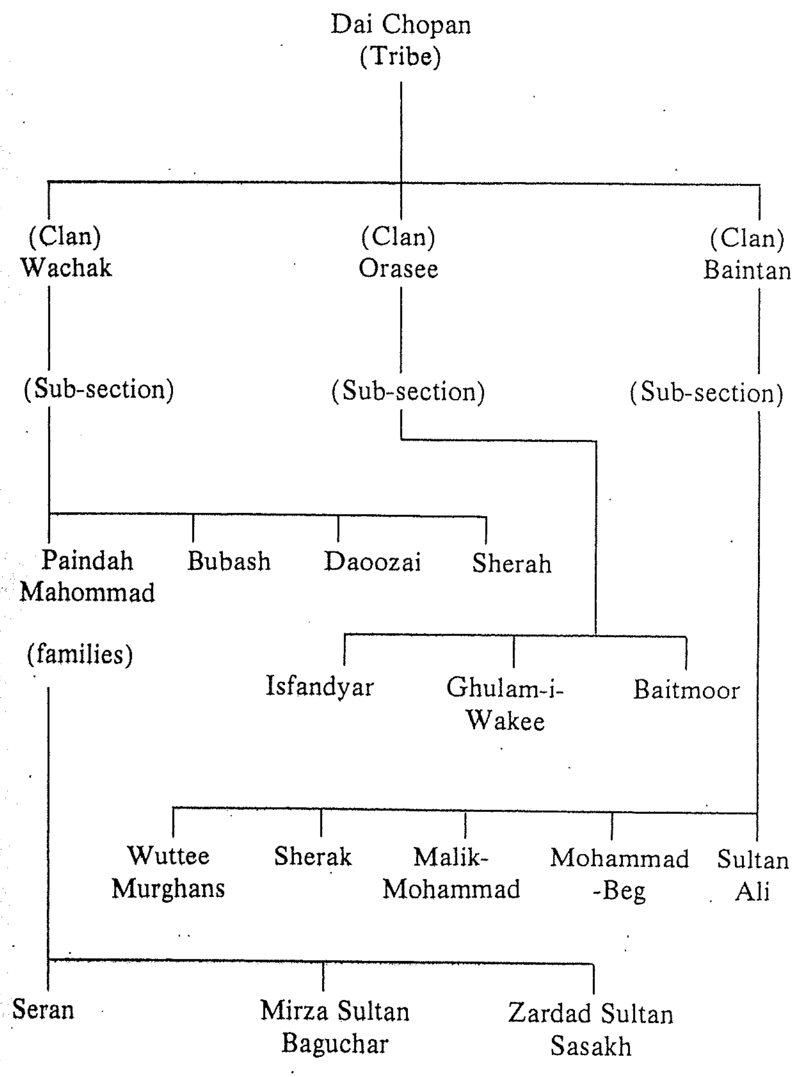
Terms	Besud	Bamian	Dai Kundi	Dai Zangi	Jaghuri	Uruzgani
	Tribes					
Lineal						
Father	Ata/Baba	Ata	Baba	Ata, Baba	Abai	Ata
Father Father	Baba Kalan	Baba/Ata Kalu	Bakala	Bakala	Bakala	Barkul
Father Mother	Madar Kalan	Aja	Mama	Mama	Achul/Aja	—
Mother	Aba	Aya	Aya	Aya	Apa, Aika, Ata	Aika
Mother Father	Padar-e Kalan	Baba	Bakala	Bakala	Bakul	Barkul
Mother Mother	Madar-e Kalan	Aja	Mama	Mama	Achul	—
Son	Bacha	Bacha	Pisar/Bacha	Bache-ma	Bacha	—
Son Child	Nowsa	Nowsa	Nowsa	Nowsa	Nowasa	—
Daughter	Dukhtar	Dukhtar	Dukhtar	Dukhtar	Dukhtar	—
Daughter Child	Nowsa	Nowsa	Nowsa	Nowsa	Nowasa	—
Child	Nelgha	Ushtuk	Bachkecha	Zaozat/Ushtuk	Nelgha	—
Sibling						
Brother	Birar	Birar	Birar	Birar	Birar	Birar
Elder Brother	—	Kaka	—	Lala	Lala	—
Younger Brother	—	Birar	—	Birarak	Birar	—
Sister	Khwar	Khwar	Khwar	Khwar	Khwar	Khwar
Elder Sister	—	Apa	—	—	Aghai	—
Younger Sister	Khwar	Khwar	Khwar	Khwar	—	—
Collateral						
Father Brother	Amu	Abagha	Abagha/Kaka	Abagha, Tata	Abagha	Amu/Kaka
Father Brother Son	—	Bacha-e Abagha/Audor-Zada	Bacha-e Abagha	Bacha-e Abagha	Bacha-e Abagha	Pisar-e amu
Father Brother Daughter	—	Dukhtar-e Abagha	Dukhtar-e Abagha	Dukhtar-e Abagha	—	—
Father Sister	Amma	Amma	Amma	Amma	Amma	Amma
	—		Bcha-e Amma	Bacha-e Amma	Bacha-e Amma	Jei'a
Father Sister Daughter	Amma	Khwar-Zada	Dukhtar-e Ama	Dukhtar-e Amma	—	Amma
Mother Brother	Taghai	Taghai/Mama	Naghachi	Naghachi	Mama	Mama
Mother Brother Son	Bacha-e Taghai	Bache Taghai	Bacha-e Naghachi	Bacha-e Naghachi	Naghachi	Dai/Naghachi
Mother Brother Daughter	Dukhtar-e Taghai	Dukhtar Taghai	Dukhtar-e Naghachi	Dukhtar-e Naghachi	Naghachi	—
Mother Sister	Khala	Khala	Khala	Khala	Khala	Khala
Mother Sister Child	Bola	Bola, Bacha-e khala	Bcha-e Khala/Bola	Bola	Khala	—
Brother Child	Birar-Zada	Birar-Zada	Birar-Zada	Birar-Zada	Birar-Zada	Birar-Zada
Sister Child	Khwar-Zada	Khwar-Zada	Khwar-Zada/Jei'a	Khwar-Zada	Khwar-Zada	Jei'a
Affinal						
Husband	Shoi	Shu-e	Shohar	Shui	Shui	Shui
Husband Father	Khosur	Khosur	Khosur	Khosur	Khosur	Khosur
Husband Mother	Khosur-Madar	Khosur-Madar	Khosur-Madar	Khosur-Madar	Khosur-Madar	Khosur-Madar
Husband Brother	Ewar	Khosur-Bara, Ewar	Khosur-Bura	Khosur-Bara	—	—
Husband Sister	Dukhtar-Khosur	Dukhtar Khosur	Apso	Apso	—	—
Wife	Khatun/ortuna	Zan	Khatun	Khatu	—	—
Wife Father	Khosur	Khosur	Khosur	Khosur	—	Khosur
Wife Mother	Khosur-Mader	Khosur-Madar	Khosur-Madar	Khosur-Madar	—	Khosur-Madar
Wife Brother	Khosur-Bara	Khosur-Bara	Khosur-Bara	Khosur-Bara	Khosur-Bara	Khosur-Bara
Wife Sister	Egachi	Aigachi	Egachi	Egechi	—	—
Wife Sister Husband	Boja	—	Baja	Baja	Baja	Baja
Son Wife	Beri	Beri	Beri	Beri	Beri	Beri
Daughter Husband	Damat	Damat	Damat	Damat	Damat	Damat
Brother Wife	Baka/Yanga	Beri	Beka	Beka	Beka	Beka
Sister Husband	Kuka/Ezna	Ezna	Ezna	Ezna	Kuka	Ezna
Stepfather	Baba-Andar	Atandar	Atandar	Atandar	Atandar	Atandar
Stepmother	Maindar	Mayandar	Mayandar	Mayandar	Mayandar	Mayandar
Stepbrother	Birar Andar	Birarandar	Birarandar	Birarandar	Birarandar	Birarandar
Stepsister	Khawar-Andar	Khwarandar	Khwarander	Khwarander	Khwarander	Khwarandar
Stepson	Bachandar	Bachandar	Bachandar	Bachandar	Bachandar	Bachandar
Stepdaughter	Dukhtarandar	Dukhtarandar	Dukhtarandar	Dukhtarandar	Dukhtarandar	Dukhtarandar
Fiance	Namzad	Namzad	Namzad	Namzad	Khosta	Namzad
Husband Co-Wife	Ambagh	Ambagh	Ambagh	Ambagh	Ambagh	Ambagh
Son Wife Father	Khusur	Khusur	Khosur	Khosur	Khesh	Khesh
Son Wife Mother	Khosur Mader-e Bacha	Khosur-eMadar-e-Bacha	Khosur-e Madar-e Bacha	Khosur-e Mader-e Bacha	Qutughu	Qutughu
Daughter Husband Father	Ata-e Damat	Ata-a Damat	Ata-e Damat	Ata-e Damat	Khesh	Khesh
Daughter Husband Mother	Aba-e Damat	Aye Damat	Aba-e Damat	Aba-e Damat	Qutughu	Qutoghu

he was descended nine generations by one male descendant. However, the ninth descendant, Torogoljin-Bayan, had two sons, Duga-Soqor and Duban-Margan. The family had only one lineage until both these brothers moved in separate directions and took residence in different regions. The descendants of Duga-Soqor formed a clan which in time grew larger and later became the tribe of Irgan. No lineage was formed by his brother, Duban-Margan. Duga-Soqor had five sons who formed five clans, or what Bacon called Oboq. One of these sons, Bodonchar, had four children who in their turn formed their own Oboq. One son, Qabichi-Baatur, was followed by his son, Manan-Tudam, who had seven children, only four of whom formed their own Oboq.

It became clear that not all the children of a prominant person formed their own Oboq and that the process of formation of Oboq was continuous. Upon arrival into Hazarajat, such process continued. The lineages formed 200 years ago flourished and their members increased to the extent that today the same lineages are the large sub-tribes of the Hazara. Bacon[14] provided several examples, two of which will give sufficient information about the lineage and its further development. She was told by a Besud informant that the section to which he belonged was called Mir Bacha. This Mir Bacha formed a lineage of his own about 200 years ago, which in time grew larger and larger. At the present time it represents one of the largest sub-tribes of Besud. Similar processes caused the formation of the Sultan Ahmad's sub-tribe of Uruzgan. According to Bacon's informant, a person by the name of Sultan Ahmad long ago settled and acquired land in the territory of Uruzgan. He formed the lineage of Sultan Ahmad which in the next century or two became the sub-tribe of Sultan Ahmad.

It seems that most of the Hazara tribal formation is the result of the lineage formed by several Mongol feudal lords of the past. The important Hazara tribes of Dai Chopan, Dai Zangi, Uruzgan, Poladi, Dai Kundi, Jaghuri could have been formed by their leaders. Illustrations of the formation of one important tribe of Hazara, Dai Chopan, will explain the situation.[15] As one can see from the following chart, a tribal system closely resembles a family genealogy. (Chart No. 1).

Chart No. 1: Hazara Tribal Formation*



*Source: Leech, Supp. Account of The Hazarah, 1845

The feudal system established by the Mongol Khans and their officers were the main source of the Hazara tribal system. According to Ferdinand,[16] the origin of branching-off of new lineage groups was established when a Khan's son succeeded in establishing himself in an independent status.

The curiosity about the genealogical relationships always attracted the attention of the Mongol people, as is evidenced in the pages of **Secret History.** However, calculation of blood relationship was for the chief only. Ordinary Mongol families were shifted from one ulus to another, according to the exigencies of the situation and having no control of their destiny; genealogy has no attraction for them. Once they joined under one chief, they began to talk as they were of one blood.

As time passed, the Hazara masses completely forgot to reckon with the ancestors of their tribe and their genealogical history. At present, there is a vagueness of knowledge of even the closest genealogical connections, except for the knowledge by the men of their patrilineal ancestors. Thus, few persons know the name of their mother's father, while many men know the names of their father's father's father.

It is interesting to note that while the genealogical knowledge is disappearing among the masses of Hazaras, there still exists some groups who adhere to the Mongol practice of genealogy tracing. These are the remnants of the Mongol feudal lord, the Mirs, Arbabs, and Maliks. These important groups hold both social and economic status. To maintain their influence among the masses, both these groups keep long genealogical trees. The Mir, for example, show their relationship to Chengiz Khan as his descendants, claim a "royal blood," and insist on their superiority. They reckon their blood descent by saying that they are chiefs because of their blood and not only by powerful influence. This represents their disapproval of the new generation of influential figures among the Hazaras who are not among the remnant of the feudal system, but are educated and/or have been successful in business. The other group, the Sayed, who are the most respected group, keep their influence as holy men through drawing their descent from the Prophet Mohammad. While the Mir's genealogy (Chart No. 2) shows omissions,[17] the Sayed's genealogy is a perfect chain right to the Prophet himself.[18]

Chart No. 2: A Hazara Mir's Genealogy*

Chengiz Khan
|
(omission of 12 generations)
|
Dardmand Mir Hazar
|
Daulat Beg Bai Sultan
|
Zal Bai Sultan
|
Mir Bai Sultan
|
Mir Inayat Beg
|
Mir Zahrab Beg
|
Hassan Sardan
|
Mir Yaqub Beg
|
Mohammad Karim Khan
|
Mohammad Akram Khan
|
Anwar Khan
(ego)

*Source: Schurmann's Mongols of Afghanistan, 1961

References

1. Masson, 2: 305
2. Schurmann, Mongols: 142-143
3. Harlan: 147
4. Wilber, 93; Weston: 87
5. Harlan: 148
6. Hudson & Bacon: 252
7. Harlan: 148
8. Hudson & Bacon: 253
9. Ibid: 252
10. Iwamura & Schurmann: 505
11. Schurmann, Mongols: 139
12. Bacon, Hazara Mongols: 139
13. Ibid: 252
14. Bacon, Obok: 17
15. Leech, Supplementary Account: 336-337: Timurkhanov: 68
16. Ferdinand, Preliminary Notes: 22
17. Schurmann, Mongols: 129
18. Adamec, Who's Who of Afghanistan: 255

11

Economy

While the economy of Hazarajat is dominated by agriculture, significant parts were also played by supporting occupations like herding, small-scale cottage industries and low-level trade. Besides these, seasonal emigration to the urban centers of Afghanistan was helping the Hazaras and aiding their economy.

When the ancestors of the Hazaras settled in Hazarajat, they were either soldiers or nomadic herdsmen. Upon their settlement in their new homes, most of them not only exchanged their nomadic life style but also adopted a sedentary life with agriculture as their major occupation. As their numbers grew, they found that the small valleys of Hazarajat could not afford to feed them and their herds; thus, they were forced to reduce the size of their herds. Within a matter of time, they finally achieved an economy which was balanced between agriculture and animal husbandry. Their practice of agriculture and herding thus helped them to live an independent life and kept them isolated from the outside world for a long time. The same circumstances lead them to be unaware of the trading profession, and therefore, trade never developed among the Hazaras.

Agriculture

Upon settling in Hazarajat, the ancestors of the Hazaras, who were steppe living, found themselves enclosed in small narrow valleys. Agriculture was an alien occupation for these people as they were either nomads or soldiers.

As their new land was not suitable for large scale herding, they slowly adopted the agricultural practices from the conquered people, the mountain Tajiks.[1] Today, we find that agriculture is the main occupation of the population.

Land Holding Units

Within the large tract of land in Hazarajat, only a small portion is suitable for farming, and which is entirely under cultivation. The mountain slopes which cover most of the Hazarajat landscape extends throughout the entire valley and are only suitable for animal grazing or some dry farming. Most of the cultivated lands were traditionally possessed by the Hazara feudal lords and, though they are not as powerful today, they still own much of the rich agricultural lands. For example, the Daulat Begs in Ashtarlai valley of Dai Kundi are the major land holding families.[2] After the great war in the last decade of the 19th century, the power of most of these Hazara feudal chiefs was broken down and the result is that in today's Hazarajat one can find many independent, small land holding farmers who own their own farms.

Besides the rich feudal families, who own much of the land, the amount of cultivated land ownership by an average Hazara farmer is very low. This is mainly due to the agrarian pressure on their land by their own increased numbers, continual property fragmentation, and the loss of their land to the Afghan nomads. The average amount of cultivated land per Hazarajat resident is 1.78 Jaribs (1 Jarib = approx. 1/2 acre), while the national average for Afghanistan is 2.08 Jaribs. On the other hand, the average amount of cultivated land per operator shows even greater discrepancy of 12.07 Jaribs for Hazarajat and 18.05 Jaribs for the country at large.[3]

While the small Hazara farmers manage to cultivate their own lands, the rich land owners, the Mirs, Khans, and Maliks, employ the peasants (Hamsaya) on the basis of crop sharing. These crop-sharing peasants work on the land providing all the implements, seeds, manure, oxen, and in some cases the revenue. After the harvest of the

crops, they share the crop with the owner of the land. On the other hand, the laborer (Dehqo) works the land as a laborer and provides nothing but his labor. He is either paid cash or shares the crop, which could be 1/3 to as low as 1/5 of the total crop harvest. These laborers are totally dependent on the land owner, and according to Iwamura,[4] they are not legally restricted, they are economically restricted, non-free people. Under such conditions, they are prone to exploitation by the landlord class.

While the landlord class were, for centuries, the Hazara feudal chiefs, a new generation of landowners came into the picture after the Afghan occupation of Hazarajat. These new landowners are the Afghan nomads who, with the Afghan official encouragement and backing, have acquired large areas of rich, productive agricultural lands.[5] While the Hazara landowners are the residents of their land, these Afghan nomads visit their newly-acquired lands each summer to collect their share of the crop from their Hazara tenants. According to the finding of the American delegation in 1950, the nomads have owned close to 20% of the land in some regions of Hazarajat, and this number is rapidly increasing.[6] The nomads have acquired these lands either through trading or through the practice of money-lending which, though prohibited by Islamic teachings, is widely practiced by the Afghan nomads. Some of the wealthy nomads have added more acreage by purchasing large areas. According to Ferdinand[7], they are the big landowners in Dai Zangi and Dai Kundi regions. To some extent, few major Hazara tribes have effectively resisted the nomadic invasion.[8] It is, however, doubtful if such a resistance could hold for a long time.

While the pasture land surrounding the village is, in most cases, the joint property of the community, the strip of pasture adjacent to the field is usually owned by the farmer. After the Afghan occupation, the Hazaras had to share their pasture land with the nomads. Both the Hazara villagers and the nomads compete for the same tracts of pasture which sometimes creates bitter relations and results in arms clashes. One such accident occurred in 1956 when Ghilzai nomads captured a Hazara pasturage. A full-scale war erupted and settled only after the government dispatched troops to the scene.[9] Once these pastures were enough for the small herds of Hazaras, however, the arrival of the nomads with their large flocks have practically ruined these pastures. These pastures are deteriorating very rapidly and some areas have become virtual mountain deserts.[10]

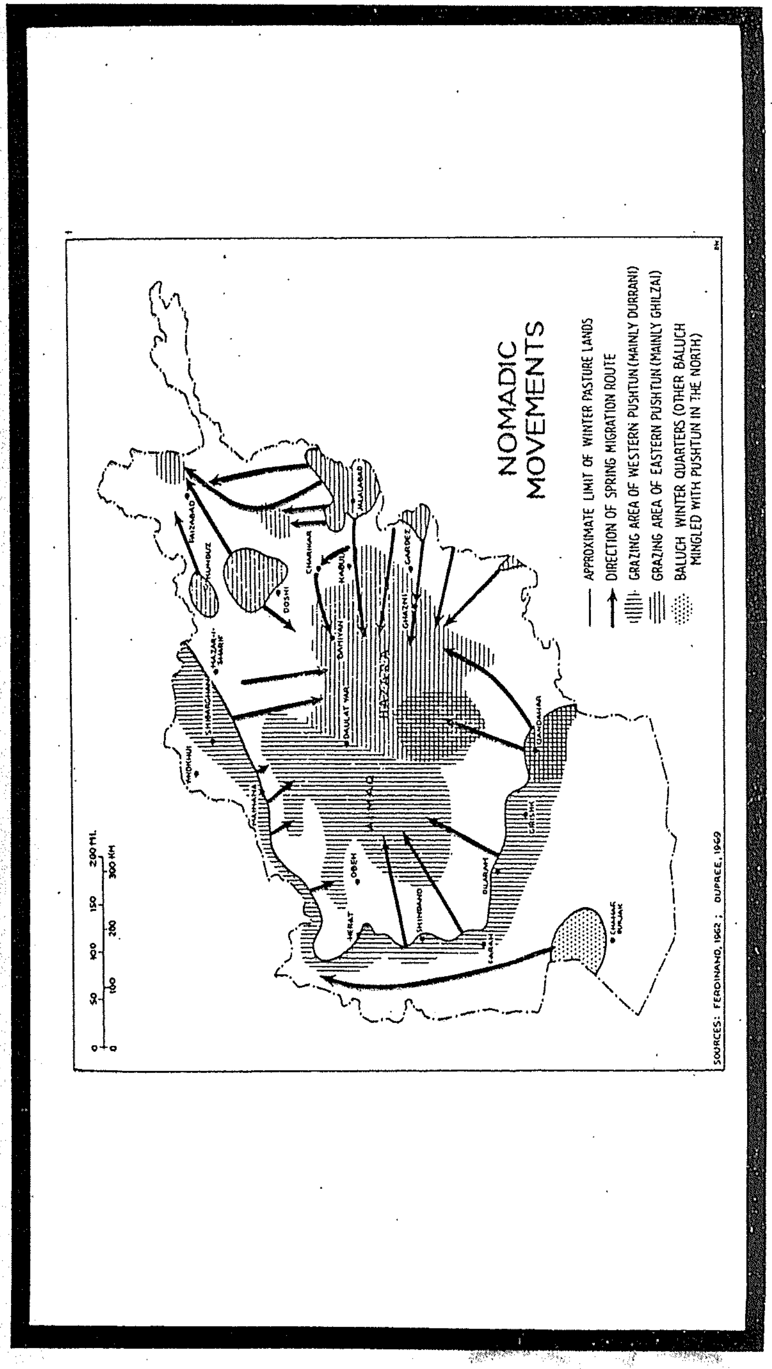
The Afghan nomads along with their thousands of sheep move each summer towards the pastures in Hazarajat. Their summer pastures extend as far west as the environs of Daulat Yar, in the upper reaches of the Hari Rud. (Map No. 3). These nomads encamp two to three months in the Hazarajat, and in the middle of August, they begin to descend with their flocks to the Kabul and Logar valleys leaving behind the deserted hills. Beside these Ghilazi nomads, the Durrani Afghans also bring their flocks from Qandahar and spend their summer with their flocks in the pastures of southern Hazarajat.[11]

Irrigated Farming

With the exceptions of the rich valleys of Helmand, Arghandab, Nakhud Rud, Khurd Rud, Kaj Rud Rivers, much of the Hazarajat agriculture is based on the small farms located in the small, long and narrow valleys which run parallel to the small streams and brooks. Consequently, much of the Hazarajat population is living in small villages located near these farms. There is an abundant water supply during the summer months for irrigation because the streams and springs flow full with the melting snow from the mountains. Though Hazarajat is the watershed for most of the important rivers of Afghanistan, these rivers are of little use for the Hazaras as they run into deep mountain gorges.

There are three methods of irrigation. One is to make a reservior, an artificial pond (Nawur) which is filled from the continuous flow of a mountain spring. These ponds are of a small size and usually made for the purpose of small scale irrigation. They are the property of a single household. Usually the pond is cleared every fall and the silt is deposited on the sides. These ponds also provide drinking water for animals.

The second method of irrigation is to dig a small ditch along the bank of a river or a stream and the water is carried through narrow canals (Joi) to nearby farms and also over a considerable distance. To carry the canal water to a farm, the canal may or may not pass through another person's property. If it does pass, then permission is asked and usually being close relatives, it is granted. This situation does not always arise, as most of these canals are shared and the whole community benefits from them. Unlike the other parts of Afghanistan, the Hazara farmers do not have a full-time water distributing supervisor, but water is distributed by mutual understanding and individual requirements.



Courtesy of Princeton Univ. Press

Map No. 4: Nomadic Movements in Hazarajat (Central Provinces)

The third method of irrigation is through the use of underground wells connected with each other (Karez). This kind of irrigation is common only in the southern Hazarajat where the land is more flat and digging of wells is easier. This system provides a major share of irrigation water for these areas.

The irrigation work, especially if the water is drawn from a stream or river, is carried out by collective labor (Ashar). The maintenance and construction of such canals are the community obligation and each member of the village is supposed to participate in such a task. Though the water of such communal canals belongs to the village, there are instances when a person will try to take more water than he is supposed to have. It is not uncommon to see clashes of a minor nature among neighbors on such matters. The irrigation season is usually a season of personal conflict.

Dry Farming

This type of farming plays a special role in the regions where land is sloping and difficult to irrigate. It is practiced on the high elevations where heavy snow falls during the winter months, and the soil has enough stored moisture to support a crop, mostly wheat (Lalmi). As summer months are hot, the evaporation quickly depletes the soil of its mositure and another crop is not possible to raise on such land.

Dry farming is also unproductive due to the lack of soil fertility. Dry farming is practiced on the mountain slopes around the villages as well as far beyond the village. While they have no problems with their own village people regarding the safety of their crops, they often encounter nomads. When these nomads bring their herds during the summer, they often ruin the standing crops of the Hazaras and a fight usually ensues.

As the mountain slopes are barren and no significant vegetation can be found, dry farming is an effective method of controlling soil erosion. During spring, when the snow melts, the presence of traversed horizontal furrows hold the water from running downward and thus check the soil from erosion. The root system of the spring wheat crop also helps to hold the soil. Similarly, during autumn, they also hold the soil from wind erosion caused by dry wind storms.

Crops

Traditionally, the Hazaras have been growing very few crops. Wheat, barley, peas, and corn were the main crops grown throughout

Hazarajat. With the passage of time, they developed or adopted some new crops, especially in the southern regions where the climate is a little milder. These newly-introduced crops are beans, oats, alfalfa, lucern, tobacco, potatoes and rice. While most of the crops are grown during the spring and summer months, winter wheats are grown during the late fall months.

The Hazaras substitute fertilization with the use of crop rotation. The most commonly used crops for rotation are corn and wheat. Where livestock is raised, alfalfa and clover are the main crops used for rotation. Usually alfalfa and clover are grown mainly for enriching the soil and not for the purpose of animal fodder. The typical crop rotation is as follows: First year winter wheat or barley, second year, corn or rice, and in the interval, fodder crops such as lucern and clover are planted.[12] However, when there is pressure on the land due to increase in population, there is no crop rotation.

Fertilizers and Manures

Commercial chemical fertilizers are unavailable or too expensive and therefore not used by the Hazara farmers. One important factor is the lack of government loans for the purchase of such commodities. In the absence of such chemical fertilizers, the Hazaras use their centuries-old method of fertilization, i.e., animal manure. Due to the scarcity of wood for fuel, an increased competition exists for the use of animal manure for fuel purposes. While the animal waste within the village compounds is made into cow dung cakes, and is used for fuel, the droppings of grazing animals are left on the field where they stay during the warm seasons. To substitute for the lack of fertilizers and manure, the Hazaras work harder to produce bumper crops.

Wherever animal manure (Sargin, Ambar) is used as a source of organic fertilizer, the following method is applied. The animal droppings are collected during the winter months from the corral or from the grounds within the house compounds. The collected manure is ground and stirred into water, and them spread over the ground between fall harvesting and spring planting.[13]

Implements

Due to Hazarajat's mountainous topography and smaller sized farming units, mechanized farming is not feasible. Their farming implements consist of old fashioned tools like wooden plows with a short beam and a metal point (Soghma), leveling wooden board

(Mala), wooden yoke (Yogh), sickles (Qadur), shovels (Paroo), and spades (Bel).

Most of the plowing and threshing is done with the help of a pair of oxen. In the hilly regions oxen are specially trained to walk on their knees so that the plow share penetrates deep into the soil. According to Iwamura and Schurmann,[14] the reason for such training is to allow the plow to remain level on the steep slopes. The harvesting is done with short sickles. Crops are dried under the sun in the open fields. Threshing is done with the help of oxen and other farm animals, as these animals are allowed to walk over the heaps of grain stalks. The winnowing operation is done by hauling the threshed grains with a pitchfork (Doshakha) into the air. Winnowing is done during the windy part of the day, when straw and grains could easily be separated. Weeding is done exclusively by hand, and the job is done by women. Shovels and spades are used for digging and preparing the canals and the edges of the fields.

Like their old fashion implements, they also neglect the importance of good seeds. They do not purchase fresh seed for their crops; rather they save part of the previous year's harvest and use it for the next year. As good storage facilities are lacking, much of the stored seeds are damaged by weevils and rodents. Because of the insect damage and due to their practice of broadcast seeding, a much higher seed rate is used throughout Hazarajat.

Animal Husbandry

After farming, animal husbandry plays an important role in Hazarajat's economy. Because of the scarcity of agricultural land and due to the fact that most of the Hazarajat provided very good pasturage, the Hazaras balance their economy by raising animals. On the other hand, however, they cannot raise large numbers of animals, due to the severity of the climate. Thus, they raise enough sheep, goats, cows, donkeys, horses and some poultry, to not only provide sufficient meat, but also help them in procuring wool, leather, farm animals, and animal fat for both their own consumption and for trade. Every Hazara household has at least a cow, a pair of oxen, some sheep, goats, sometimes a donkey for transportation, and a few wild breed hens.

With the declining power of the Hazara feudal chiefs, the horse raising practice lost much of its importance. Once it was a very profitable business as there were many customers and a constant

demand for good horses. For example, in the early part of the 19th century, the feudal chiefs of Dai Zangi and Yak Aolang possessed more than 69,000 horses for their cavalry.[15] The Hazarajat horses were of special value because of their small stature, hardy and strong bodies, well adapted to the severe mountain conditions of the land.[16] The importance of the horses among Hazaras could be assessed by the fact that when Hazarajat was occupied by Abdur Rahman's forces, they captured tens of thousands of horses from every corner of Hazarajat.[17] Today, besides those few horses which are in the possession of rich families, only the valleys of Yak Aolang and Lal wa Sar Jangal have a significant number of horses.[18] Mules and donkeys which are used mainly for transportation and sometimes in farming, could be found on a very small scale. In the southern Hazarajat, one can find an occasional camel. They are mainly used for transportation and drawing irrigation water through the Persian wheel.

Perhaps the severely cold climate did not encourage the ancestors of the Hazaras to raise the large-horned animals like cows on a large scale. Traditionally, it was the feudal chief who owned much of the lands and thus was in a position to raise such animals. While the cows provided them with milk and its products, the oxen were used by their laborers and peasants. Where the cows were raised in the past, they became famous not only for their good milk yield but also for the creamy butter. According to Timurkhanov[19], the cows of Hazarajat were once considered the best in Afghanistan. As cows needed larger rooms during the long winter months, the poor Hazara farmers could not afford to provide the space in their small houses. Therefore, cow breeding remained exclusively in the hands of wealthy individuals.

Sheep and goats have played an important role in Hazarajat economy. The largest part of the Hazaras livestock consists of sheep; in keeping with their Mongolian tradition, they also raise a few goats among their herds of sheep.[20] The number of sheep flocks depends upon the amount and condition of the village pasturage and the herdsmen's capability to provide shelter during winter time. For centuries, the first factor, i.e., the amount of pasturage, was never a problem in limiting the size of herds; the second, protecting the flocks during winter snow, was a hindrance and kept the size of flocks in check. After the Afghans defeated the Hazaras in the last decade of the 19th century, however, pasturage has been somewhat limited. After the war, Abdur Rahman allowed nomads free access to the rich pasturage as a reward for their participation in the war against the

Hazaras. He prohibited the Hazaras to graze their flocks in the pastures, but later gave them limited access. His set conditions were carried out by his predecessors, and to the present day the conditions still favor the nomads.[21] The Hazaras have to compete for pastureland with the Afghan nomads who bring in enormous flocks of sheep each summer.

The Hazaras keep their sheep indoors during the long winter months. At the start of summer, they take their flocks to the highland pastures on the mountain plateaus and remain there for most of the summer. (See an interesting Yak Aolang tale about this practice in Chapter 3, Language.) Many of the young people accompany the flocks to the pastures and live in the temporary shelters made of bushes and rocks (Kota). Most of the pregnant sheep deliver their lambs during their stay in summer quarters (Ailaq). At the end of the summer, the Hazaras come back to their villages to prepare for the harvest of their wheat crop. In cases where the animals are taken to a nearby pasture, they are brought back every evening and kept under their roofs or within the village compound. Usually this situation arises when the number of sheep are small--one or two sheep or goats per family. The shepherd (Chepo) collects these animals every morning and after daily grazing in the pasture, they are brought back in the evening. For such service, the shepherd is given some kind of payment.

If a pasture belongs to one person, he will be the only individual whose animals will graze on his land. However, in cases where the pasture is community property, every member of the village is entitled to graze his animals. In most cases, fodder is not grown for the animals as human food production is creating greater and greater competition for land. Collection of fodder for winter is the duty of the young children who are kept busy during the summertime. They bring home loads of bushes (Buta) and grass (Khasha) and stack it outside their houses. This collection of winter fodder is so extensive that Ferdinand called the Hazaras "one of the world's greatest hay-makers."[22]

Animal hair is the most important product they receive from their animals, including wool from sheep and camels and hair from their goats. Wool from sheep and camels is the raw material used for making Barak (soft cloth woven from undyed sheep wool), a product for which Hazarajat is famous. Besides Barak, felts (Nemad), socks and gloves are the main by-products. Goat hair is mainly used for making ropes and bags for grain transportation.

Both sheep and goats are sheared every year; sheep often twice a year. As the sheep remain outdoors in the pasture during the summer months, the wool remains comparatively cleaner than in the wintertime when they are mostly indoors. The wool received in the fall shearing is most valued. The wool from "red ram" is especially valued and considered to be the best throughout the country. While much of the wool is consumed locally, it is also finding its way to the urban centers through trade with Afghan nomads.

Sheep are also a source of hide and animal fat (Roghan-e Dunba). The skins are cured through a primitive method and the leather is used for making shoes, belts, bags and other useful items. With goatskin, they make leather bags (Mashk). It is made by cutting off the slaughtered goat's legs and head and squeezing the meat and bones from the openings. It is then thoroughly washed, cleaned and dried in the sun. This bag is then used for making milk by-products like cheese and butter. This is one of the Mongol traditions which the Hazaras have retained until the present time, and according to Iwamura,[23] the medieval Mongols used such leather bags for making liquor from horse milk.

Besides the items mentioned above, sheep also provide the Hazaras with clarified butter (Roghan-e Zard), their most valued product. For this product, the Hazarajat is well known throughout Afghanistan. The first stage of preparing this product is to boil the milk. When the milk is cooled, a small amount of a started (usually the previous day's yogurt) is added and mixed thoroughly, leaving it overnight in a warm place. The next morning, the solid curd is churned in a goatskin bag. The fatty part, which settles on the top, is separated and clarified by boiling. By this method, most of the water is lost and the final product, the Roghan, is at a minimum water content. The remaining part of the churned curd is salted and used as buttermilk (Dogh). Dogh is one of the favorite beverages during the summer months. In the winter months, much of the dogh is dried out and converted into solid blocks known as Qurut. This is prepared by passing the Dogh through a bag of thick cloth and hanging the bag so the water is drained completely. In winter, these solid blocks of Qurut are used in a dish called Qurut-Rogho.

On a small scale, the Hazaras also make another product called Chaka. This is made by turning the milk sour and then draining it through a cloth bag. Few people also use Qaimaq, the creamy layer which comes to the top when milk is boiled. It is eaten with bread in the morning. However, due to extensive use of milk for Roghan making,

little milk is left for making other products like Chaka or Qaimaq. The milk left after the extraction of Qaimaq is usually turned into other products like yogurt (Mast, Shir).

Poultry does not exist on a large scale. Every family has a few hens for eggs, but they are seldom used for meat. These poultry are of a wild type and their laying capacity is minimal. No hybrid breed of poultry can be found. Feathers are also very valued, and are used for stuffing pillows. Poultry diseases are very common. Because of its shortage, poultry meat is considered a luxury.

Handicrafts

Though the Hazaras are masters of their skills, several obstacles kept them from establishing a well developed industry within the boundaries of Hazarajat. First, the isolation of the Hazaras from each other and from the outside world left little access for their products into the trade centers of neighboring countries. This situation discouraged the Hazaras from producing more than what they needed locally. Secondly, because handicrafts were always considered a part-time job, second to farming and herding, it never developed as an independent occupation. Thirdly, because most of the handicrafted items were produced by women, they remained within the four walls of the home. On the other hand, women did pass the crafts on to their offspring, thus maintaining mastery within the family. The absence of a cash economy also kept the Hazarajat handicrafts from prospering. A bartering economy existed for a long time, and money is still not used very much in the interior and isolated regions of the Hazarajat. Goods were exchanged for goods. Each village was more or less self-sufficient and produced the same kind of crop and handicrafts; thus they had no barter value in the neighboring villages. Fourthly, the Hazaras never developed the idea of becoming tradesmen. They never encouraged the sale of their products. For example, the experience of an American, E. F. Fox, gives insight into their lack of interest in the trading profession. According to him:

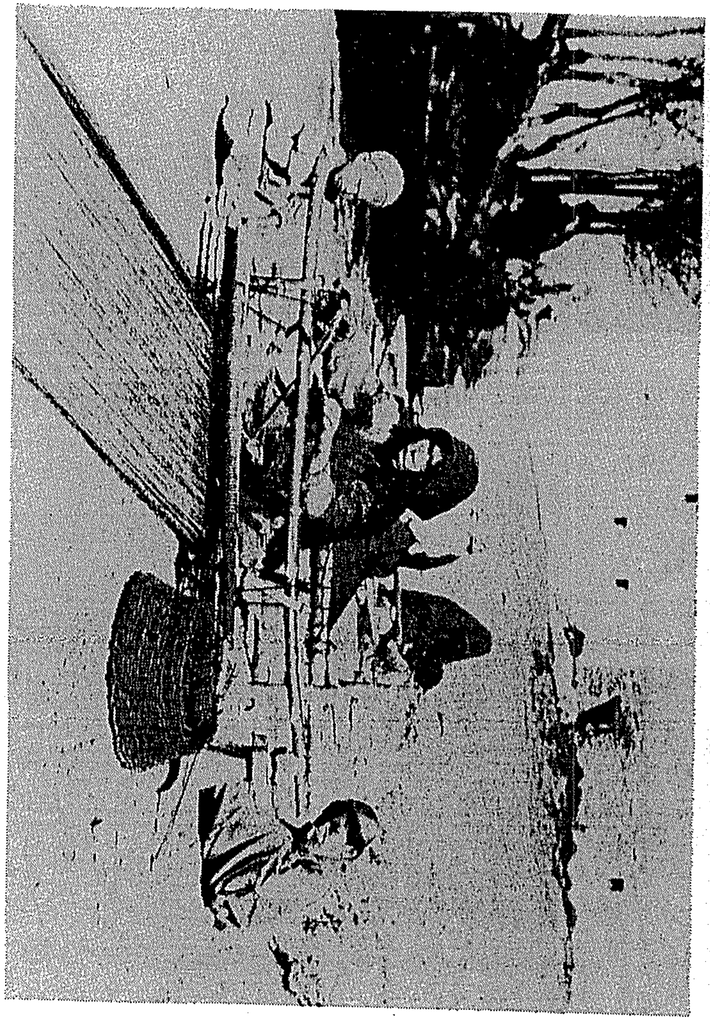
> "I had always heard that the Hazarajat is the place to find good Afghan felt, and since I wanted some, I was watching for it in the villages that we passed through. I saw some very fine pieces in the villages near Waras Pass and tried to buy them, but the villagers assured me that I would see much better in the bazar of Panjao. When we got there, I found no felt at all. At Panjao we were told that the best felt is available in villages

> near Unai Pass, and when the villagers of that place were asked for felt, they said that the very best place to find good felt was back near Waras Pass."[24]

While in general, Hazarajat industry remained dormant, individual Hazarajat valleys became famous for specific handicrafts.[25] Notable crafts which were in demand outside their land were fabrics made out of sheep, camel and goat hair. One such type of fabric was known as Barak-e Barai, i.e., Barak made out of lamb's wool, which is famous for its fineness and soft texture. During 19th century it was in great demand in the neighboring countries. Besides this, Barak made out of camel hair, known as Barak-e Shutori, was also in great demand.[26] Fabrics made of goat hair by Hazaras were considered matchless in beauty and value in the surrounding countries.[27]

The finer and cleaner wool was mostly saved for making fabrics such as baraks, blankets, jackets, top coats, trousers, and carpets. The remaining coarser wool and goat hair were used for making different products of lower value such as felts, sacks for transportation and storage, and ropes. Hazarajat, in the past, was also famous for its fine quality carpets, but no longer produces them.[28] Instead, much attention is given to producing rugs (Gelim) and felts (Nemad). Trade and indebtedness with nomads have forced the Hazaras to produce as much as the nomads demand, and they are thus the exclusive buyers of these products. Those Hazaras who are in debt to the nomads do weaving for them. Others are paid by nomads for their services. Under these arrangements, the nomads provide the raw materials, and the Hazara women do the manufacturing.

Weaving is exclusively done by women. As few Hazara houses are large enough to hold looms, the work has to be done outdoors. It is common to see the industrious Hazara woman busy at her loom in the coldest weather, provided the ground is free from snow.[29] They prepare their products on primitive hand looms (Tanesta) which are laid horizontal to the ground. The strings are tied to wooden poles on opposite sides, and the women workers start working from one end. (Plate No.5) As they move forward, the workers move on the completed part of the rug or gelim. The women work sitting side by side, three to five abreast, depending upon the width of the rug. The workers are always guided by an elderly woman who gives direction about the pattern and the colors of thread to be used. Most of the decorative objects are plants, flowers, birds, or large animals. Usually carpets are more decorated with intricate designs than gelims, which



Courtesy of Geographical Journal

Plate No. 5: Women of Dai Zangi Weaving "Barak" Cloth On Looms

are simple solid stripes of different colors. Some gelims are also made with geometrical designs. The dominant colors are black, red, yellow, orange and blue.

Besides weaving, Hazara women also specialize in leather work. Being agricultural people, leather is used for many purposes. Special products are leather bags, saddles, belts, harnesses, and covers for guns and rifles. From leather, Hazara men make their shoes, and all leather tanning is done by them.

Women also specialize in handmade pottery. One unique feature of Hazara pottery is the way it is made. They do not use a pottery wheel, only their hands, with great skill. However, with the appearance of the wheel, this technique is rapidly disappearing. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark, who observed the Hazara women making earthen jars without the use of wheels in the village of Garm-Ao, Dai Zangi, described it:

> "The material used was local clay mixed with water, no grit or straw temper being employed. These jars were extremely plain, with no decoration to them at all. The method used to build them up consisted of making small clay sausages with the hands, and then laying these one upon the other to form the outer wall. The handles were made in the same way. The surface was then smoothed with the fingers. While smoothing the clay, water is continuously used."[30]

Because of their primitiveness and rough structure, these earthen jars have no commerical value and are used exclusively by the Hazara villagers. Each village produces enough earthen pottery to be self-sufficient.

Because of the continuous inter- and intra-tribal wars in the 18th and 19th centuries, and a continuous threat of external aggression from the Afghans, Tajiks, and Uzbak Khanats, and especially the raids of the men-stealing Uzbaks, the Hazara feudal chiefs encouraged the developement of arms and armory. Among these arms, the ones which the Hazaras produced in greatest quantities were knives, sabers, swords, javelines, daggers, shields, and spears. These were not only made in large quantities, but also of superior quality. They were also masters of making firearms like rifles and pistols.[31] The quantities of side arms and firearms that the Hazaras once possessed could be easily estimated if only one could see how many arms were confiscated by the soldiers of Abdur Rahman after the end of the Hazara War.[32] The blacksmiths, who were the creators of these arms, were experts in iron

smelting and excellent metal cutters. After the breakdown of the feudal system, these craftsmen lost their patronage and slowly their craft lost its importance. The Hazaras now buy their arms in the markets of urban centers of Afghanistan. However, their offspring turned to other important aspects of their profession: the production of farm implements. At the present time, almost every large village has a blacksmith (Aingar) who makes implements like plow shares, shovels, spades, hammers and axes.

Trade

The isolated geographical location of Hazarajat kept the Hazaras completely independent from the outside world. Their well balanced economy was mainly responsible for their self-sufficiency. Their low purchasing power was also responsible for the lack of trade. The absence of a money economy also helped to inhibit trade development in Hazarajat. But the most important factor was their simple lifestyle, and thus they kept themselves away from the luxurious life enjoyed by their neighbors.

The import and export of commercial commodities to and from Hazarajat always ramained limited. For centuries, the demand for foreign goods was mainly confined to the feudal chiefs and their immediate families. The average Hazara family was too poor to buy foreign goods. After their personal consumption and payment to their feudal chiefs, the Hazaras had little to barter for foreign imported articles.[33] For these Hazaras even the use of salt was a luxury.

Before, during the 19th century, the import and export of goods was limited. The Hazaras imported goods such as horses, rice, cotton, and salt from Turkistan,[34] chintz, and other cotton fabrics from Multan and Bengal, and sugar, indigo, tobacco, turbans and firearms from India via Kabul; tea, manufactured iron, paper, and glass were brought from Russia.[35]

To obtain foreign goods, the Hazaras provided the traders with the following articles: sheep meat, cattle, horses, woolen fabrics like barak, clarified butter, lead, copper, carpets, rugs, and felts.[36] One such special product which the Hazaras exchanged in barter trade was the marmot skin (Tabarghan) which was in abundance in Dai Kundi region.[37] While much of their exporting products were made out of wool, raw wool was never exported.[38]

Most of their products found their way to the urban markets of Herat, Kabul, Ghazni, Qandahar, and Mazar-e Sharif. They also

delivered their goods to Khurasan and to Takhta Bazar in Central Asia.[39] Hazarajat also served a rich market for the slave business. The slaves were either acquired through the men-stealing Uzbak raiders or through the Hazara feudal lords who would capture members of their enemy's army and sell them to the Afghan or Uzbak slave merchants. Mostly these slaves were sold to the slave merchants of Turkistan in return for goods.[40]

While most of the trade during 19th century was handled by foreign merchants, some Hazaras also managed to sell their merchandise directly. For example, the Hazaras in the neighborhood of Ghazni, exchanged their furs and hair cloth for grain and flour with the inhabitants of the town.[41] Similarly, the Dai Zangi tribe was exchanging their clarified butter and other materials with the Tajiks of Kahmard in the north.[42] Almost all other trading was handled by foreign merchants. While the Afghan merchants would not dare enter the territories of the Hazaras for fear of their lives, the Tajiks, the Persian-speaking merchants from Kabul, Herat and northern regions, frequently visited the area.[43] However, much of the Hazarajat trade remained, for a long time, in the hands of Qizilbash merchants, both from Kabul and other urban centers of Afghanistan.[44] Being Shias and Persian speaking, these Qizilbash merchants travelled freely throughout Hazarajat without fear, and some of them established themselves as permanent residents of Hazarajat and purchased lands and properties.[45] Later in 1893-1894, their properties were confiscated by order of Abdur Rahman after his forces occupied the Besud region.[46] However, they were able to hold their land and properties in the west of Ghazni; they still live among the Hazaras as a landlord class.[47]

Because of the unfavorable circumstances mentioned above, strong trading centers did not develop in the region. As much of the imported items were consumed by the rich people and the few feudal chiefs, these foreign traders would stay in the residences of these people.[48] These residences of the village elites served as the trading posts for the Hazaras. As sovereign rulers of their tribal territories, the chiefs collected a custom duty from these merchant caravans, traveling through their territories at the rate of 2.5% (1/40) of the value of the goods being carried.[49]

As coined money was unknown to them, trade became of local nature and goods were exchanged for goods. The money of account was represented by sheep. A sheep of first quality was rated at three rupees. This mode of valuation formed the currency of exchange with

which the trading parties were familiar. Sometimes, a certain weight of lead also passed for smaller change.[50]

The trading conditions of Hazarajat as described above remained unchanged until the last decade of the 19th century. With the annexation of Hazarajat into Afghanistan, the forbidden land was opened to the Afghan nomads. Soon Tajik and Qizilbash merchants were replaced by a new generation of traders, the nomads. Because of their participation in the war against the Hazaras, Abdur Rahman allowed these nomads to capture the fertile Hazarajat valleys and pasturage, and to establish themselves permanently. However, due to the severe climate of the region and because of their nomadic lifestyle, they could not establish themselves as farmers. By their free access to the remote corners of Hazarajat, the nomads soon realized the fact that while they could not establish themselves as cultivators, they could profit from trade with the Hazaras. Because there was no competition, and with the full backing of Afghan officials,[51] they monopolized the trading industry. Soon they were able to establish a commerce with an astonishing degree of organization, which was very methodically conducted. They not only concentrated on the major trading centers, but also visited in small groups in remote Hazara settlements whereby almost every village was covered.[52]

While several Afghan nomad groups found their way for trading in Hazarajat, traditionally, Ghilzai nomads are the predominant trading group. The important trading nomad tribes are: Sadozai, Ahmadzai, Taghar, Stanizai, Landazai, and Daulazai. Besides these, other Afghan tribes like Niazi, Khawzak, and Mirak Khel are also busy in trading with the Hazaras.[53]

Unlike the traders of the past century whose trading centers were limited to the residences of the Hazara chiefs, the nomads establish their bazars in the population centers of Hazarajat. The nomads cover most of the Hazarajat population by following two different caravan routes. One is the southeast to northwest starting from Logar, and Wardak and ending a Gum-Ab. The chief places where the nomad trading bazars can be found each summer are: Deraz Qol, Kata Khak, Mar Khana, Dahn-e Rishqa, Siah Dara, Panjao, Dahn-e Godar, Aqzarat, Kashan, Asp Maidan, Kerman and Lal.[54] The other trading route is south to north, starting from Moqur and ending in the Aimaq region. This covers much of the trading centers in Jaghuri, Malistan, and Dai Kundi.[55] The nomad trading caravans in Hazarajat have full government protection and they are usually escorted by armed Afghan

soldiers. These soldiers not only accompany the nomads for their protection but also help them in purchasing and procuring fodder for their animals.[56] As fodder is usually needed for their own animals, the Hazaras are reluctant to sell it to the nomads. The fully-armed Afghan soldiers obtain the fodder for the nomads through threats or sometimes by using force.

The trading commodities mostly pertain to the basic needs of the common Hazaras. However, through the nomadic trade some new articles have also been introduced. The nomads bring commodities into their trading bazars: cheap Indian and Pakistani cotton fabrics, Peshawari turbans, embroidered women's shoes, men's sandals, tea, brown sugar blocks (Gur), sugar, aluminum kitchenware, second-hand jackets, waist coats, rifles and gun shells, ammunition belts, thread and needles, spices, women's cosmetics, combs, and mirrors. While most of these products are imported materials from Kabul, the remaining products are smuggled goods from Pakistan.[57] In return, the nomads receive grains, woolen products, clarified butter, hides, skins and some fodder for their animals.

During the Hazara-nomad trade, no money is involved. Commodity is exchanged for commodity. During this trade, the Afghan nomads receive more than 100% gross profit. For example, they buy a Kabul Ser (approximately 7 kg.) of clarified butter for about 120 Afghanis. When they bring this product outside Hazarajat, they sell it for 500 Afghanis. On the other hand, a cheap cotton fabric which was purchased in Peshawar, Pakistan, for about 3 or 3½ Afghanis per yard, is sold to the Hazaras for 15 to 25 Afghanis. They also buy grains from the Hazaras on advanced payment basis. For wheat, they pay about 10 to 11 Afghanis per Ser. The next year, when they come to fetch the wheat, the Hazara may not be able to supply the promised wheat. Therefore, he must buy the wheat back which is still in his possession. He must pay about 25 to 30 Afghanis for the wheat which, according to the settlement, belonged to the nomads.[58] If this sum is not paid in total upon the next visit of the nomad, the amount will increase with geometric proportion. In calculating their credits, the nomads always cheat the illiterate Hazara villagers. The nomads usually receive the silent tolerance of the Afghan officials for their credit manipulations.[59] Thus, with the little ready cash available, the Hazaras have become financially indebted to the nomads. Some of the areas in Hazarajat report as many as 60 to 80 percent of the Hazaras presently indebted to the nomads.[60]

The Hazaras, who are always short of cash, often resort to borrowing from the nomads at money-lending rates of interest, which go as high as 100 and 150 percent annually. Therefore, the nomads are very generous in providing loans to the Hazaras. For example, if a Hazara is in need of 100 Afghanis, the nomad will always give him 200 Afghanis.[61] This one-sided lucrative business is so profitable that the Hazara have to pay one-half ton of wheat for a pair of shoes. The nomad admits his joy about this lucrative business by stating, "There is no better business in the world than ours [and that such business will continue for a long time] for there is still much to gain as the Hazaras still have enough resources."[62] Due to this lucrative trade, the nomads have purchased some of the best irrigated land. Such loss of land has forced a large number of Hazaras to emigrate to the cities, particularly to Kabul, to look for unskilled work.[63]

The result of money lending and one-sided trade is ruining the Hazaras, both as individuals and as a whole nation. Because of the enormous debt, the Hazara hands over his cattle and finally his land to the nomads. While the nomads take the cattle to the market for sale, they leave the land for the Hazara who, instead of being the owner, becomes the tenant of his land. He will cultivate for the nomad as a share-paid tenant.[64] The widely practiced mortgaging (Gerawi) of land to the nomads as security on money loans leads to the same result. A debtor unable to repay can only mortgage to another Afghan who will give him another loan. So, in one way or another, in 20 or 25 years on the basis of prescriptive right, a man loses his own land and the Afghan, in effect, acquires it for next to nothing.[65]

Such is the trend of land loss within the past few decades. Some Hazarajat regions have already lost their land to the Afghans, estimated at 2 to 20 percent of all rich agricultural lands.[66] If the same trend continues, which is most certain, soon the Hazaras lands will be in complete control of Afghan nomads. That kind of situation will be, without any doubt, most satisfying to the Afghan government. Through their money lending and acquiring of new lands, the nomads are bringing about significant socio-political changes. What Abdur Rahman and his predecessors could not accomplish through the use of force, the nomads are doing through their trading skills.

Immigration

Seasonal immigration of the Hazaras to the urban centers of Afghanistan and other neighboring countries had, for a long time,

played an important role in the economy of the Hazarajat. While economy was the main factor in driving the Hazaras to the plains of Afghanistan, the severe winter weather was equally responsible for their massive migration.[67] At times they were forced to leave their villages, in consequence of the seizure of their sheep and other properties as a tribute by the Amir of Kabul.[68]

While many of them could find jobs in the urban centers of Afghanistan in the winter months, the rest of them used to go beyond the borders of Afghanistan. Thousands crossed the border into Panjab, India, every winter and found jobs in constructing irrigation canals and building and sinking water wells.[69] Such immigration was, however, temporary and on a seasonal basis. After earning enough money, they used to return to their villages to spend the money, either in paying the bride-price or buying a piece of land. They never established permanent residence in foreign lands. Their permanent immigration began after they were defeated in the late 19th century and large numbers of Hazaras settled in Quetta and Mashhad.

The Hazara migration has increased dramatically in recent years. About one-fourth of the adult population of the eastern Hazarajat works outside the region during the winter months. In some cases, somewhat less than half the village households have one or more members who are long-term migrants. This is especially true for much of the Besud region and, to a lesser extent, the Ghazni and Bamian Hazaras. Many of the seasonal migrants leave their families behind in their villages and return as soon as possible. Those who bring their families usually stay more than a season or longer.

Those Hazaras who move to the towns are farmers and herdsmen and therefore unskilled for the jobs which the town could offer them. As they are without assured income, they are often forced to accept menial jobs; the Hazaras form the principal proletarian element in the urban centers like Kabul and Ghazni. Some find their ways in portering, gardening, and removing snow from the roofs during the winter. All these jobs are known among Hazaras as Gharib-Kari (the poor man's jobs). A small number of these settlers also find work in newly-emerging industry.[70] The wives usually work in the towns as domestic servants. They live in the old part of the city where the rent is lowest. Some of these families also live in Chandiwal among Qizilbash, and also among the Tajiks and Afghans.

Among the urban centers of Afghanistan, Kabul is the main attraction for the Hazara migrants. According to an estimate, the

Central Provinces, i.e., most of the Hazarajat, have contributed 31 percent of Kabul's total migrants. Of this figure, Wardak Province is clearly dominant, due to its closeness to Kabul, which accounts for 65 percent of the total migrant force.[71] Within the Wardak Province the eastern part is a small, irrigated and more prosperous region which is exclusively inhabited by Afghans and Tajiks. The western part, west of Jalraiz, is an extensive higher, drier, marginal agricultural area and is inhabited by the Besud Hazaras. This is the part of Hazarajat which provides most of Kabul's seasonal laborers, and personal observations show that the large number of Hazaras living in Kabul are from Besud. Next to Besud Hazaras are the Bamian and Ghazni Hazaras, who provide much of the Kabul migrants. The Hazaras living in the far places like Uruzgan and Ghor constitute the smallest number of Kabul migrants.[72] The Hazaras of these regions usually migrate to the western and southern urban centers of Afghanistan, such as Herat and Qandahar, and some also go to the north to the Mazar-e Sharif.

Many of the sources have mentioned that the Hazara migration occurs during the fall season, but the most recent studies have shown that it actually happens twice a year, once in the fall and once at the end of spring.[73] The farmers who have planted their crops in the spring come to the city in hopes of finding some work during the summer months and return to their homes in time to harvest their crops in the late fall. The second migration begins after the crops are harvested and before the winter snow closes the higher mountain passes. After spending the winter months in town, they return home in April and May to plant their spring crop.[74]

So far there are no official Afghan studies available to show the cause of the Hazara massive migration. The only reliable source are the studies by American research group who have examined the problems related to the Hazara migration. Allan, an American, in his findings, outlined the problems:

> "The region is a reservoir of under employed workers especially during the winters. Many of the men migrate to Kabul and other cities in search of winter employment. Most of them return to their native villages for the summer, but some find employment elsewhere which enables them to remain there permanently. While no exact figures are available, it appears that permanent migration does not offset the natural population growth with the result that the summertime population of the region is increasing. Consequently, landholdings are becoming smaller and the number of landless families is increasing. While the income from winter time employment outside the region has probably increased since the advent of the First Five Year Plan, the economic position of the population is probably deteriorating and will continue to deteriorate unless steps are taken to encourage migration, increase the returns from the use of the natural resources and check the destruction of resources."[75]

In another study, the American researcher, Jung, found the following reasons for the massive Hazara migration:

> "The mortgage of land and work results in the departure of thousands of the male population for the summer work either in Kabul and other nearby towns or to find employment where big public works are usually underway and even as rural manpower. This trend may effect 30% to 50% of the male manpower of the villages in the poorer areas."[76]

Recently, during his field work in Kabul and in Hazarajat, Jung[77] further found some very important basic reasons for the Hazara migration:

1. Isolation of Hazarajat and lack of accessibility.
2. Population pressures.
3. Nutritional density.
4. Continual land fragmentation.
5. Resource competition and depletion.
6. Hazara/Koochie (nomads) relationship with particular reference to debt factor and Koochie land ownership.

As none of these reasons are under the control of the Hazaras, one can only imagine that their massive migration would continue and possibly increase in the coming years. Besides their seasonal migration, permanent migration to foreign lands also occurs where significant numbers of Hazaras cross the borders and permanently settle down in the towns of Iran and Pakistan. However, such migration does not help the economy of Hazarajat as they never return to their home land. Those who settle permanently in the urban centers of Afghanistan do return from time to time, but they come just to visit their relatives, or an old man may come home to die in his native land.

Taxation

Payment of taxes was always a burden for the Hazara masses. It could be included in the list of causes for Hazara poverty. Before the Hazarajat annexation into Afghanistan, they paid taxes to the Hazara feudal lords. The reason for their payment of the taxes was the division of their society into classes. One class, the few rich landlords, the Mirs, Khans, and Sayeds, were in full control of the majority of the land. The other class, the vast majority of the population, were the poor peasants (Dehqans), the servants of the feudal families. The basis of the power and control of these few families over the overwhelming majority was their control over the land, the water, and much of the animal wealth. Small independent farmers did manage to survive, but through heavy taxation their lands were usually grabbed up by these landlords. This was especially true in the regions of Dai Kundi and Dai Zangi where farmland was confiscated by the Hazara Mirs.[78]

The revenues received by these lords were not only extensive, but the methods of receiving them were savage. Harlan has recorded the custom of taxation in some parts of Hazarajat which gives us an idea about the common system used in the old days:

> "The revenue of the chief is derived from a tax of one-third of the produce of the cultivator, about one-half of the value of manufacturers, from fines of police, and other sources of plunder and acquisition unknown to any revenue collectors. The revenue is received in kind and disbursed, at a high valuation, amongst the military retainers and the chief's household. The collection of this revenue is managed by the chief's subordinates and deputies and they are allowed the privilege of purveyance during the delay of payment, without regard to the cause of such delay. These harpies luxiviate and falter upon the cultivator, not infrequently levying double and selling the surplus under the pretext of obstinacy on the part of the cultivator or Royot. They received these revenue by whipping on the soles of the feet and is called 'Bastindo.' Thus, the Hazara chiefs accumulate large stores of treasure, consisting of herds, flocks, grain, clothing and every substance of themselves and their relatives."[79]

While much of the Hazara masses remained outside the pale of neighboring Khanats, the Hazaras living in the border regions were

occasionally forced to pay taxes. This is especially true in the southern and eastern parts of Hazarajat which fell into the hands of Afghan rulers of Kabul and Qandahar. For example, in the middle of the 19th century, the Hazaras of Qarabagh and Nani paid 75,000 rupees and those from Jaghuri and Malistan paid 14,000 rupees as revenue to Amir Mohammad Khan, a sardar of Ghazni.[80] Amir Dost Mohammad collected 17,000 rupees from Besud as a tribute (Nazrana), but after killing the Besud chief, Yazdan Bakhsh, and occupying the whole Besud territory, he increased the revenue to 80,000 rupees annually. Such increase in the revenue caused great trouble among the poor Hazaras, as most of them were unable to manage such heavy taxes. This revenue was assessed as 2 rupees per family. As the Hazaras could not afford to pay the newly-imposed tax, Amir Dost Mohammad had to employ force and through great punishment he could receive the taxes from the Hazaras. The collection method was savage and barbaric which Harlan has described:

> "A body of 1,000 cavalry is annually sent to collect the revenue. This corps is dispersed over the district in small divisions, each one with orders to collect. This custom of perveyance adds greatly to the expense of the subject, who is liable to many vexations, processes and exactions, and to injury to justify and abuse of personal and property, to enforce a speedy settlement. The revenue is collected in kind, the amount being paid in sheep, horned cattle, goats, horses, slaves, and grain, etc. The slaves are sold by private contract."[81]

When the Hazara peasants of the border regions were unable to pay the revenue, the Afghan rulers had to use some other inhumane techniques. Wood reported such an incident in the middle of the 19th century:

> "While travelling in the Hazarajat, we encountered parties of half-famished Hazara abandoning their inclement mountains for the less rigorous winter of the plains. The early fall of snow this year had, they told us, destroyed the crops, and as they had been unable to pay the usual tribute to the Amir of Kabul, Dost Mohammad, their sheep had been seized. Without the means of passing the long dreary winter now closing in upon them, they were compelled to emigrate to the plains where the wealthy would employ them."[82]

The procurement of revenue from the Hazaras was not an easy

task, even though the Kabul Amir had sent a great number of soldiers. The Hazaras resisted to the utmost to avoid the payment of such imposed revenue by the foreign forces. For them, paying taxes to the Afghan rulers simply meant facing hunger and death in the cold of Hazarajat. When they were not strong and united, the Afghans somehow managed to extract the revenue from them. However, when they felt that they were able to resist the Afghans, they stopped the payment effectively. Under such situations, the Hazaras have used their own method of tax payment called "Sang ya Buz" (stone or goat). According to this custom, when Afghan collectors arrived in a Hazara village, the village elder (Rish Safid) would hold a rock in his hand, and a rope tied to a thin, old goat in his other hand, and would then ask the tax collecting Afghans to accept the goat as tax or have the rock on his head. This was a clear message to the rulers of Kabul that the villagers were not his subjects and were not supposed to pay taxes to a foreign ruler.[83]

After the Hazara's defeat in the hands of Abdur Rahman's forces, they were forced to pay a much higher tax. Abdur Rahman issued orders that each Hazara family should pay to the government, besides the land revenue, the following taxes for grazing their animals on their own land. The taxes were: 50 Falos for each cow, 45 Falos for each cow without milk, 1½ rupees for a donkey, 10 pool for a young donkey, 1½ rupees for a cow two years old or a heifer, 1 rupee for a horse, ½ rupee for a camel.[84] As much of their worldly belongings were already seized by the Afghan soldiers, they had no other alternative but to leave their villages and take refuge elsewhere.

After the Hazaras defeat in 1893, Abdur Rahman gave his officials what Dupree calls "an administrative carte blanche,"[85] which meant that as long as they sent him the allotted taxes, he did not care how the tax was collected. These Afghan officials, in order to collect the taxes, made the lives of the Hazaras extremely difficult. Abdur Rahman's oppressive policy was carried out by his predecessors and the Hazaras of today face the same hardship as their fathers and grandfathers faced decades ago. Time and time again, they resist paying the high taxes, which results in armed clashes with the Afghan soldiers stationed in Hazarajat. One such incident was reported by Dupree which occurred in 1950 in Yak Aolang region. According to Dupree,[86] the Hazaras of the region protested against the government tax collection. The main reason for such an uprising was that the Afghan Mudir-e Mahlia (tax collector) was over-taxing to put the extra money into his pocket. This and such other incidents clearly indicate that though the Hazaras are

the poorest group, they pay a disproportionate share of taxes. While the rest of the inhabitants of Afghanistan pay their taxes to the government, the Hazara's not only pay to the Afghan government, but also to the corrupt Afghan officials stationed in Hazarajat. Because of this double taxation and Pashtun nomads' abuses and having no channel to redress through the government, many localized Hazara revolts have been reported. During King Zahir Shah regime (1933-1973) several such rebelions were reported in Shahristan, Dai Kundi and Yak Aolang regions.

References

1. Schurmann, Mongols: 30
2. Ibid: 188
3. Jung: 9
4. Iwamura, Problems: 211
5. Newell & Newell: 101
6. Jung: 10
7. Ferdinand, Nomadic Expansion: 132
8. Newell: 32
9. Smith, et al.: 253
10. Jung: 9
11. Smith, et al.: 253
12. Davydov: 38
13. Schurmann, Mongols: 272
14. Iwamura & Schurmann: 499
15. Ferrier: 455
16. Timurkhanov: 29
17. Faiz, 853, 1168
18. Ferdinand, Preliminary Notes: 34
19. Timurkhanov: 30
20. Iwamura: 210
21. Canfield, Faction & Conversion: 20-21
22. Ferdinand, Preliminary Notes: 26
23. Iwamura, Problems: 210
24. Fox: 273
25. Ibid: 274
26. Harlan: 116
27. Timurkhanov: 41
28. Ibid: 41
29. Gaz. of Afghanistan: 284
30. Peter, Prince of Greece & Denmark, Man (73): 52
31. Timurkhanov: 31
32. Secret Letters, 65: 119
33. Timurkhanov: 31
34. Ibid: 32
35. Harlan: 131-132
36. Ibid: 133
37. Gaz. of Afghanistan: 284
38. Thornton: 258
39. Timurkhanov: 44
40. Ibid: 45
41. Broadfoot:344
42. Harlan: 87-88
43. Sterling: 10-11; Wood: 128
44. Gaz. of Afghanistan: 284
45. Masson, 2: 297-298
46. Faiz, 952
47. Ferdinand, Preliminary Notes: 18
48. Timurkhanov: 45
49. Ibid: 51
50. Harlan: 133
51. Smith, et al.: 76
52. Frohlich: 3-4
53. Ferdinand, Nomadic Expansion: 135-138
54. Ibid: 135-136
55. Ibid: 135
56. Ibid: 138
57. Frohlich, Footnote, Page 275

58. Ferdinand, Nomadic Expansion: 131-132
59. Frohlich: 12
60. Jung: 10
61. Ferdinand, Nomadic Expansion: 132
62. Ibid: 134-135
63. Newell & Newell: 101
64. Ferdinand, Nomadic Expansion: 132 Davydov: 42
65. Davydov: 42
66. Jung: 10; Ferdinand Nomadic Expansion: 132
67. Wood: 125
68. Ibid: 126
69. Bellew, Races of Afghanistan: 116
70. Buscher, Footnote, Page 16
71. Jung: 7
72. Ibid: 7
73. Ibid: 7
74. Ibid: 7
75. Allan: 2
76. Jung: 9
77. Ibid: 9
78. Faiz, 1011
79. Harlan: 135
80. Masson, 2: 222
81. Harlan: 127
82. Wood: 125-126
83. Masson, 2: 353; Leech, Supp. Account: 335
84. Faiz, 1070
85. Dupree, Changing Character: 27
86. Ibid, Personal Correspondence, 1976

12

Hazaras As A Minority

Ethnically, the people of Afghanistan are more diverse than those of any other country of Southwest Asia. This leads to varied potential loyalties and problems of cohesion.[1] Such a situation has created the most challenging problem of genuine national unity in a country whose constituent races have very little natural affinity. It is amazing that while placing great verbal emphasis on the need for national unity, the Afghan government does little to foster it in practice.[2] Due to its discriminative policies--its preoccupation with exclusively Pashtun issues such as the so-called Pashtunistan, the status and use of Pashtu language and the dominance of the Pashtun capital of Kabul--the minorities feel that Afghanistan is a country run by the Pashtuns for the Pashtuns, leaving the other ethnic groups in Afghanistan, in a sense, the victims of an internal colonialism. This feeling is shared by many foreign visitors who observe the situation in Afghanistan first hand.[3]

Islam is considered to be the binding institution of the diverse ethnic groups of Afghanistan. However, even though Islam is their common religion and governs their daily lives, the ethnic groups have

not become assimilated. Physical characteristics, dress, way of life, customs, and songs are all intact. There has been little intermingling. Pashtuns, Baluchs, Uzbeks, Hazaras, Tajiks, Turkmans and Nuristanis all adhere to the practices of their ancestors. The most casual observer learns to distinguish the different factions rapidly and infallibly, even in the teeming streets of Kabul. Passing from one province to another, it is as though the traveler enters another world entirely. Afghanistan is nothing but a mosaic of diverse people.[4]

Each group within Afghanistan's diverse ethnic scene is clearly aware of its individual identity, defined and strengthened through local histories and legends that recount past accomplishments with pride. Very little of this pride as yet extends to the nation-state. To an Uzbek, for instance, an Afghan is a Pashtun, pure and simple.[5]

Originally the term "Afghan" applied only to Pashtuns. As the Pashtuns formed a central government, the application of "Afghan" came to be applied more generally to the inhabitants of Afghanistan.

The Afghan government has tried to encourage this identification of the term "Afghan" with all citizens of Afghanistan, regardless of tribal origin. This campaign has not yet achieved complete success, and Poullada testifies that during his residence in Kabul in 1967-1968, his gardener (Baghwan), a member of a minority tribal group, often spoke with bitter contempt of "those Afghans," referring to the Pashtun ruling elite.[6]

Population figures of Afghanistan are only estimates, for no detailed census has been taken. The larger figures may represent inflated estimates of the Pashtun population for political reasons.[7] The pre-eminent position of the Pashtuns in Afghan society is derived in part from the following demographic distribution of the estimated population of 14 to 16 million within the boundaries of present-day Afghanistan.[8]

Population in Millions

Pashtuns		6.0	to	6.5
Tajiks		3.0	to	3.5
Hazaras		1.5	to	2.0
Turkmans		---	to	1.0
Uzbeks		1.0	to	1.5
Other ethnic groups		---	to	1.5
	Total	**14.0**	**to**	**16.0**

While every minority in Afghanistan is discriminated against by Afghans, their attitude towards the Hazaras is most visible. The reason for such extreme discrimination is obvious. During the Afghan encroachment and establishment of their country, there has been no resistance, except for the Tajiks under Bacha-e Saqow and short-lived Uzbek revolt in Maimana during Abdur Rahman's time,[9] from any of the ethnic groups. The Hazaras resisted such encroachment and fought a very costly war against the Afghans. The absence of such resistance among other ethnic groups to the Afghans' dominance was due to the scattered location of the Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Turkmans. Additionally, historically, these groups had long been under the control of foreign powers. The situation with the Hazaras was different. Since the establishment of their present country, they had remained virtually free from outside domination.

However, the Afghans could not fulfill their dream of establishing a country unless they annexed the regions of Hazarajat. In former times, whenever the Afghans had directed their attention towards Hazarajat, it was always to pillage and massacre the inhabitants. The result of this history is that the Hazaras look upon the Afghans as wild beasts and treat them accordingly. Therefore, when traveling from one town to another, the Afghans were forced to take long, circuitous routes rather than direct roads through Hazarajat, and they exposed themselves to a chance meeting with the Hazaras and certain death.[10] As the Afghans' power grew, they started annexing the border regions of Hazarajat. Finally, in 1893, after a bloody war, the whole of Hazarajat was occupied and became part of Afghanistan.

For centuries, the Hazaras had no contact with Afghans. Only the inhabitants of the bordering regions of Hazarajat knew the Afghans who were suppressing them.[11] The Afghan encroachment in small but perennial wars between them and the Hazaras during the 19th century created a great deal of animosity. The Afghans showed their animosity by burning the dead bodies of the Hazara opponents. They discontinued this act only when the Hazaras began burning the dead bodies of the Afghans in retaliation.[12]

During the war of 1891-1893, the Hazaras not only lost their country and liberty but also came under the rulership of a nation which was in contrast to the character of their ethnicity. The Hazaras of 19th century were so simple that their simplicity became proverbial. It is because of this simplicity, this innocence, that they were cheated and exploited by the Afghans.[13] The attitude of the Afghans towards the

Hazaras is described by Wheeler:

"Their countenances are calm, and they affect a frankness and bon homie; they will sometimes indulge in a rude jocularity, but their expression is savage, and evil passions are often raging in their hearts like hidden fires. They are bloodthirsty, deceitful, and depraved, ready to sell their country, their honour, and their very souls for lucre. They care for nothing but fighting and loot; delighting in the din of arms, the turmoil of battle, and the plunder of the killed and wounded."[14]

Though the Afghans were able to capture their land, they failed to win the hearts of the Hazaras. The Afghan policy of discriminating against the Hazaras, as well as their immense hatred for them, is largely responsible for such a failure. Frohlich has described this extreme animosity:

"A [Afghan] Malok when questioned replied that he would rather give his dughter to the poorest Pashtun barber [lowest status position in the Pashtun hierarchy of prestige; this profession is the only one with a caste character, it adheres to its members as a stigma] rather than to a Hazara even if he were covered with gold."[15]

While ill feelings among the two ethnic groups remain alive, and neither hold the other in high regard, some intermarriages have been reported.[16]

Several notable western scholars have observed and reported discrimination of the Hazaras by the Afghans.[17] According to Newell and Newell,[18] the Hazaras are the largest group that has been consistently oppressed by the Pashtuns. Some of these scholars have based the Afghan discrimination on religion and race, while others have based it on economics and military defeat at the hands of the Afghans. Some Afghans consider discrimination against the Hazaras justified revenge for the historic wrongdoing toward the Afghans by the Hazara Mongol ancestors.[19] The Afghan discrimination is so visible that is has been labeled as almost racist in its intensity.[20] It has also been noted that no one could be more proud of his racial purity than the Afghan.[21]

The Afghan discrimination towards the Hazaras is due to both racial and religious prejudice. A brief discussion of racism will enable us to define the kind of racism followed by the Afghans. The Afghans deny that they practice racism in their country because it is against

Islamic teachings, but if one reads the following paragraphs, it will become clear that indeed the Afghans are a racist people. Western definition of racism is "assumption of inherent racial superiority or the purity and superiority of certain races, and consequent discrimination against other races; also any doctrine or program of racial domination and discrimination based on such an assumption."[22]

To explain how racism originated in Afghan society, Professor Berghe provided a hypothetical example. According to him, the most important necessary (but not sufficient) condition for the rise of racism is the presence of sufficient numbers of two or more groups that look different enough so that at least some of their numbers can be readily classified. In addition to their physical differences, these groups also have to be culturally different (at least when they first meet) and in a position of institutionalized inequality for the idea of inherent racial differences to take root.[23] He further explained the situation by stating that these conditions are most clearly met when groups come into contact through migration, of which the most common types are:

1. Military conquest in which the victor establishes his political and economic domination over an indigenous group.
2. Gradual frontier expansion of one group which pushes back and exterminates the native population.
3. Involuntary migration in which a slave or indentural alien group is introduced into a country to constitute a servile caste.
4. Voluntary migration when alien groups move into the host country to seek political protection or economic opportunities.

These various forms of migration, singly or in combination, account for most of the interracial societies created by Western powers and probably also for most non-western societies in which racism is present.[24]

The above-mentioned conditions fit well to the situation of Hazaras in Afghanistan. A close examination of available information will reveal that Hazaras are indeed victims of Afghan racism. The evidence of such racism surfaced in 1893 when Abdur Rahman conquered Hazarajat and annexed it to Afghanistan. Since then the Afghans established their political and economical dominance over the Hazaras. Afghan officials were appointed and slowly remote parts of Hazarajat were brought under Afghan rule. Just after the war, the Afghan administrations were more effective in the regions of Hazarajat which were near to the provincial capitals and Afghan army posts.

Afghan officials were unable to maintain prolonged control over the most remote regions of Hazarajat and some of the districts showed a great deal of independence, sometimes to the point of being recalcitrant and insurgent.[25] But the picture has changed in recent years, especially after acquiring the Russian hardware which has enabled the Afghans to enforce their rule in the remote territories of the country; thus, the dissatisfied minority groups became less troublesome for the ruling elite in Kabul.[26]

The second condition of the rise of racism was reported by European travellers of Afghanistan during early 19th century. This was centered in most of the eastern and southern regions of Hazarajat. Because of such gradual frontier expansion into Hazarajat, and the extermination of the Hazara natives of these regions, the physical shape of Hazarajat has changed drastically. But much of the frontier expansion occurred after the war of 1893 when Uruzgan, the main district of Hazarajat, was repopulated by Afghan tribes of Durrani, Ghilzai and Kakar. Most of the Hazara of these districts were either killed or were forced to flee to other foreign countries.

The Hazara War of Independence brought not only a great massacre to the natives, but also brought the consequences of a defeat. The aftermath was the involuntary migration of the Hazaras to the different regions of Afghanistan. During and after the war was over, the Hazara men, women and children were captured by the Afghan soldiers and brought to the slave markets of the Afghan towns and villages to be sold as slaves. The whole Hazarajat region turned into a slave market where Afghan soldiers would sell the Hazaras to their nomad brothers who brought them to urban areas of Afghanistan and the neighboring British Indian provinces. They were forced to live in Afghan society as a servile caste for decades until under the pressure of the League of Nations, the Afghan government finally abolished slavery in the 1930's. Even though the Afghans dropped their slaveholding cloak, their intense prejudice survives to this day. In recent years, Hazaras also involuntarily migrated after the loss of their lands at the hands of Afghan nomads.

For centuries, Hazara peasants have been migrating to the lowlands of Afghanistan and British India for seasonal work. It was a voluntary migration exclusively for the sake of economic opportunities; their lands were too marginal to support them and that the winters were too harsh to withstand. In recent years, because of the increase in their population and high unemployment, more and more Hazaras are

voluntarily migrating to the urban centers hoping to improve their financial situation or to pay off the debts of the Afghan nomads.

Thus, when Hazaras came into contact with their Afghan neighbors, they were discriminated against. Because of this prejudice, the Hazaras have suffered for a long time and are still suffering. The Afghan prejudice is not different from the prejudice one can observe in other racist states. Prejudice is the same old phenomenon which Allport[27] has defined as the "thinking ill of others without sufficient warrant." The ethnic prejudice is an antipathy based upon a "faulty and inflexible generalization.... It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group."[28]

The Afghan discrimination of the Hazaras is visible in every walk of life, and a casual observer will quickly find such cases. Whether it is in their home country of Hazarajat or in the urban centers of Afghanistan, they are excluded from participation in the development and progress of their country.

For Hazaras, the society in Afghanistan is flourishing under the form where the stronger faction can readily unite and oppress the weaker, like in a state of nature where the weaker individual is not secured against the violence of the stronger. Such a situation has been described by Cooke[29] as, "Anarchy may as truly be said to reign." Thus, the Hazaras are playing their most tragic role as a minority under Afghan dominance. The result of such a role is that all the Hazaras are dissatisfied.

The Hazaras are not the only race which has gone through a period of passiveness; under abnormal situations they have hidden their true feelings behind a facade of passive acquiescense. They may have hidden their resentment so well that to the superficial eye they appear completely satisfied with their lot, and, according to Allport,[30] this mask of contentment became their means of survival. He further suggests that this passive acquiescence sometimes becomes the only way in which seriously threatened minority groups can survive.[31]

Innumerable instances of prejudice and discrimination of Hazaras by Afghans could be cited, but perhaps the most visible are in the following areas of Afghan society: education, housing, employment, health, religious affairs, business, politics, and the development of Hazarajat. A brief discussion will serve the purpose of this chapter.

Social Status of Hazaras

In a Pashtun-dominated society it is not only difficult for the Hazaras to penetrate the thick wall of prejudice and discrimination but sometimes it seems impossible. Little is known about the number of Hazaras in the upper strata of the Afghan social class. It is not only the Hazaras who are outcast from the elite class of Afghan society, but the other minorities of the country as well. The elite of Afghanistan consist of a very small circle of members of families belonging to the inner or outer circle of the aristocracy. First, there has been the royal family; secondly, families related to the royal family; and thirdly, families of importance who belong to the same tribe as the royal family. Finally, some influence on the center has also been exercised by heads of federated tribal families.[32]

The only study which allows us to find the Hazara social standing is the data provided by Poullada[33] which clearly shows their position in Afghan society. Among the elite and intelligentsia there is not a single Hazara to be mentioned. Few Hazaras have managed to achieve prominence in business in the urban centers, not by government backing, but on their own hard work and through years of intimidation and suffering; however, their numbers are few. Much of the Hazara work force, as the study shows, consists of small landowners, peasants, factory workers, semi-skilled workers and a significantly large number in the lower ranks of the armed services (Table No. 2). A close look at the table clearly indicates that religious and racial discrimination is the real backbone of Afghan racism.

Table 2: Horizontal Social Groups in Afghanistan*

Horizontal Group & Identity	Number	Vertical Elements Included in Horizontal Group
1. **Elite:** Royal Family, top government officials, wealthy merchants, large landowners, tribal chiefs	2-3,000	Pathans, Sunnis (Pashtuns)
2. **Intelligentsia:** Government officials, professional men, teachers, students, literates, top religious leaders, army officials	8-10,000	Pathans, Tajik-Sunni
3. **Urban Middle Class:** Lower civil servants, shopkeepers, scribes, accountants, , artisans, literates, religious leaders	800,000-1,000,000	Tajiks, Uzbeks, Pathans, some Turkman, and Hazaras
4. **Lower Class:**	8,000,000	
a. Urban		
(1) - Proletariat: Factory and semi-skilled workers	20,000	Tajiks, Hazaras, Pathans
(2) - Military, Police, etc.: Enlisted men in armed forces, Police, gendarmerie		Tajiks, Hazaras,
b. Rural		
(1) - Cultivators: Small landowners, peasants, and semi-nomads	7,000,000	Pathans, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Hazaras
(2) - Nomads: Pure nomads, non-cultivators	200,000	Pathans, Turkman

Courtesy of Asia Society, New York

*Source: Poullada, Pashtun Role in Afghan Political System, 1970

Hazaras in Military Service

The Hazaras from the border regions like Besud have also migrated in large numbers to the lowland urban centers and obtained employment. Some of them were able to enlist in the regular Afghan army. European sources have reported that in the middle of the 19th century, the Amir of Kabul had hundreds of Hazaras in his army. During the war against the Afghans in 1891-1893, the Hazaras showed their bravery and tactics and left an impression in the hearts of their enemies. One of them who was most impressed was the son of Amir Abdur Rahman, Prince Habibullah. At the end of the war and after occupation of Hazarajat, the prince wanted to enlist the Hazara young men in the Afghan army, but he was forced by his father to abandon such an idea.[34]

When Habibullah became the Amir, he not only requested the British authorities in India to stop enlisting the Hazaras, but also fulfilled his desire to bring the Hazaras into his own army. According to his orders, large numbers of the Hazaras especially from the eastern Hazarajat, were enlisted into the Afghan army. Since that time, the Hazaras were regularly recruited in the Afghan army both as professional soldiers and as two-year draftees. Many of these enlisted men never reached the rank of officer and the actual number of Hazara officers is very low. They are discriminated against in promotion and training in foreign countries. Those few who do reach a high ranking position are the Hazaras with political background. They remain in their position as long as their family shows their loyalty to the Afghan rulers, and if the Afghans sense a bit of opposition, the officer will face the threat of demotion.

Several such incidents have happened in the past, but citing one report by the Associated Press of Pakistan will serve the purpose of this chapter:

> "Sardar Daud has removed General Ahmed Ali Khan Baba [commonly known among Hazaras as Toran Janral] from the command of the Ghazni Division and made him a member of the Military Tribunal in the ministry of National Defence. This officer was retired before the coup of July 17, 1973, and brought back by Sardar Daud as a goodwill gesture towards the Hazaras. This officer, members of his family, and elders are not trusted by the Hazaras. They are known to be people who are interested in the well-being only of their family. As

> far as the Hazaras are concerned, this family is considered to have betrayed the Hazara cause. Toran Janral Baba's elder brother, Senator Nadir Ali Jaghori, was Zahir Shah's man. After the coup, he managed to change loyalties and has become Sardar Daud's man. Despite his family's current loyalty to Daud, the Afghan President thought it expedient to remove Toran Janral from a position of power, fearing he may suddenly change and help the Hazaras. Although it is a remote possibility, but Sardar Daud did not want to leave anything to chance."[35]

While Hazara young men were forced to serve in the military for decades, it was an official Afghan policy not to permit them into the military academy. It is said that Sardar Daud Khan had specific orders to keep the Hazaras out of the academy and no Hazara was allowed to become an army officer. His animosity towards Hazaras was due to his belief that the Hazaras were dishonest and could not be trusted. Things have changed since the communists took over, especially after President Amin's removal. Nowadays there are a few Hazara military officers in the Afghan army.

Hazaras in Civil and Private Service

Few Hazaras could find their way into the Afghan civil service, and the result is that Hazaras are scarce and uninfluential in the administrative machine of the modern Afghan government.[36] The highest position that they occupied is the office of clerk. Despite the fact that they are inordinately industrious, ambitious, reliable, studious, and in some instances fulfill the educational requirements, they have found it nevertheless, difficult to cross the discriminative barriers. Both Hazaras and Qizilbash, being Shias, are discriminated against in obtaining jobs. The discrimination of the Qizilbash is different than that of the Hazaras. Although both are discriminated against on the basis of religion (as both belong to the Shia sect), the Hazaras are further discriminated against on the basis of race. Thus, while the Qizilbash have successfully managed to obtain several extremely important Afghan administrative jobs just by declaring themselves as Sunni Tajik,[37] the Hazaras, however, could not practice this custom known as Taqiya (dissimulation) due to their physiognomy.

One can argue that in the urban areas of Afghanistan high employment of educated Afghans could discourage the Hazara young men from competing for civil service jobs. However, when it comes to

the situation in their homeland, Hazarajat, one will believe that they are indeed discriminated against in the job market. The officials assigned to government offices in Hazarajat are almost entirely Pashtuns or Tajiks and the few Hazaras in government hold only low echelon positions.[38] Even those low key jobs do not go to the common Hazaras, but to the members of the rich families. For example, in Dai Kundi the members of the influential Daulat Beg family hold such low government positions.[39]

The majority of the employees in the government offices throughout Hazarajat are imported from Kabul and other Afghan regions of the country. From the provincial governor to the lowest level of administration, all belong to the Afghans and sometimes the Tajiks. Because of this Afghan policy the Hazaras are forced to think that the government is foreign and they are a colony of the Afghans. Similar situations could have been found decades ago in the subcontinent of Indo-Pakistan where the British colonial government imported civil service officials from England. However, the British colonialists encouraged the local population to hold the lower jobs.

Hazaras in Education

Much of the Hazarajat adult population is illiterate. Those who are able to attend school cannot afford to go beyond elementary school as no further educatinal facilities are available. Very few can afford to go to the town and cities to further their education. Much of the educated Hazaras belong to either the influential families in Hazarajat or those who are town dwellers. Unemployment of the educated Hazaras has discouraged the parents to send their children for higher education, and many Hazara young men are forced to find jobs in growing Afghan industry.

A few decades ago, no Hazara students would imagine obtaining a higher education in Afghan colleges and universities. Prejudice against them was so intense that the doors of higher education were completely closed. Hazaras were not the only ones who suffered from such discrimination in higher education. In the beginning, at Kabul University, no Shia students (both Hazaras and Qizilbash) were accepted for admission. In later years, however, Qizilbash students were allowed to attend the Faculty of Medicine, but Hazaras were still forbidden.[40] Even presently, very few Hazara students could manage to enter the professional schools, and those who are fortunate are people from the influential Hazara families.

Another part of higher education is the training in foreign countries. There is a large number of educational scholarships which are provided by both the Afghan and foreign governments and international agencies to the students from Afghanistan. The candidates selected for higher education or training must be, in the opinion of political leaders, the most desirable persons. "Most desirable" does not necessarily mean most able, but may mean most reliable or simply belonging to the right circle of families.[41] If one judges a Hazara student according to this criteria, he will never be able to convince the judges of his being most reliable. Seeing this situation, Dianous[42] had come to the conclusion that the Shia Afghan (the Hazaras) certainly had, for a long period, fewer chances than the Sunnis to be sent abroad as students and to obtain an important position with the state.

Discrimination depresses the standards of members of the lower group in respect to health, education, manners and morals. This, then, seems to justify discrimination. Once they have been built into the social order, social distance and mutual resentment between the groups will grow. The target individual finds that he has less job opportunity and earns less if he attends disadvantaged or culturally deprived schools.[43] Because of their social and educational drawbacks, they are prejudiced on the basis of not having enough education or training. This situation exists in Afghanistan where so few Hazaras are present in the government machinery, and the only explanation that could be found is that Hazarajat could not supply enough qualified men.[44]

If one wonders why Hazarajat could not provide enough qualified men, then he should look at the policies of the Afghan government. There is no evidence whatsoever that the government is paying any attention to educate the Hazaras, not only in the centers of higher education, but also in primary and secondary education as well. An Afghan study shows the status of Hazara children's education in the year 1971 and following are the percentage of their enrollment in elementary schools.[45]

Province	% Age of Children Enrolled in Elementary Schools
Ghazni	10.4
Uruzgan	14.5
Bamian	15.8
Wardak	16.3
Ghor	19.2

While eight secondary schools have been listed to be located in the Hazarajat area, only four of them are in the Hazara-populated areas and the rest are in the Afghan-inhabited areas.[46]

Hazaras in Industry

It has been acknowledged by the western sources that Afghan workmanship is of inferior quality and, in general, the Afghans are not lovers of work. Comparing Afghan workmanship with that of the Germans or the Japanese, truly industrious people, Wilber found that Afghans work because they have to, rarely because they like to. On the other hand, he found that the Hazaras seem to enjoy their chores, and they are capable of great feats of endurance and physical strength.[47]

The Hazaras' industrious nature and their dedication to their work was recognized long ago by the rulers of Kabul, who, since then, have exploited them. After the Hazaras' defeat, Abdur Rahman sold the able-bodied men and women in the slave markets of Afghanistan and the neighboring countries. Those who were too old to be sold were forced to work in the Barak (fabric) manufacturing factories.[48] Thus, the Hazaras were the pioneer workers in the Afghan industrial sector and played an important role throughout these years.

So far, the Hazaras have provided their labor on a supplementary rather than competitive basis, and have escaped severe discrimination in the industrial sector. However, in recent years, more and more Afghans are entering the labor force, especially in the newly-born industrial sector. Because of this trend, there is a growing fear among the Hazaras that soon they will lose their jobs to the Afghans and will face severe discrimination.

The Hazara workers realize that they are living in a racist society and the only way to survive is to work hard and with dedication. Limited occupational choices, employment opportunities and unfair job promotional practices, both in private and public sectors, have always been the way of life for the Hazaras. As a result of such discriminatory Afghan policies, coupled with the high rate of illiteracy and poverty, the Hazaras have always performed unskilled, menial jobs. In Kabul, they congregate daily at well established pick-up locations scattered throughout the city waiting and hoping that work will become available.[49]

Those who are fortunate to find their way in the Afghan industries have not been employed because of positive changes in the mentality

of Afghans, but because they are hard working and industrious, and because of their diligence, endurance, and early employment. Because of their desirable qualities, the Hazaras have made themselves the most sought after employees, which today in Kabul constitutes more than half of the industrial workers.[50] The factory managers like to employ Hazaras because they are more diligent than members of other ethnic groups and are better able to work continuously.[51] But while their numbers are large and they have entered the industry at earlier stages, they have little chance of promotion. Many of them leave their jobs before they reach the top of the seniority level due to either discriminatory actions or the behavior of their supervisors. As Buscher[52] has found out, in many large enterprises the specialists (department heads or engineers) which have almost all received their training in the United States or Europe, show, in many cases, a considerable measure of arrogance toward the workers; this often results in the workers giving up their jobs after a short time.

In spite of all the prejudice and discrimination, some Hazara workers manage to stay in the factory hoping that because of their seniority they will obtain a supervisory position. But in a majority of cases, they will only be appointed to such a position if their subordinate workers consist of their own ethnic group. During his survey of the Afghan industrial firms, Buscher[53] found that all the managers he interviewed maintained that Hazara as foremen could become supervisor of members from other ethnic groups (e.g., Pashtun) without resulting in conflicts. However, Buscher could not find a single example during his visit to the factories where a Hazara was the supervisor of other ethnic groups. Frohlich, who knows the Afghan situation well, confirms the findings of Buscher and doubts the statement of the factory managers. He fears that should discrimination and blockage of advancement of members of an ethnic group (meaning Hazaras, here) in employment become a rule in the future, a social question may become a political problem, analogous to the hypothesis of J. S. Slotkin, "If emplyees and employers belong to different ethnic groups, this political struggle takes a nationalistic form."[54]

In spite of all these socio-economic restrictions of the Afghan society, and because of all the prejudice and discrimination, some Hazaras did manage to cross the barriers and become prosperous members of society. The negative attitude of non-Hazara segments of Afghan society places them in a precarious position. Frohlich described the situation by saying that they sit on a presenting plate, and

each improvement of their social and material status is suspiciously followed. Their social move up may further increase the antipathy of their social environment.[55] The Afghans antipathy towards Hazara socio-economic development could be demonstrated by the findings of Claus, et al. who in mid 1960, studied the situation and have stated:

> "Some succeeded working themselves up to the top through their thriftiness. It is not rare that some Hazaras own a truck with which they drive through the country making a living. This rapid social success has only reinforced the antipathy against the Hazaras."[56]

One can only wonder how long the Afghan rulers will follow their policy of discrimination. So far, not many social problems have arisen because of such policy, and this could be due to illiteracy and low economic development. But as the economic activities increase and the Afghan society becomes more and more complex, the carrying over of such policies would certainly hurt the society as a whole. Gittler pointed out the consequences of such a situation and suggested:

> "The more complex a society becomes and the greater the range of its economic activities, the greater the degree of willing cooperation it must have from all the elements of its population. A society suffers if laws and conventions impose restrictions and inferiority upon any group.... The cooperation and friendship among the various groups will certainly lead that society to eliminate the prejudice and hatred."[57]

One such case of Hazaras discrimination was the Helmand Valley Authority (HVA) project. This huge multi-million dollar, multi-national financed project was built in the early 1950's. The Afghan government's preoccupation with Pashtuns' welfare did not benefit the minorities, especially the Hazaras. The government, instead of settling the next door Hazara farmers, forced the Pashtun nomads to settle the area. Having no previous farming experience, these nomads failed to till the land and soon the majority of them left the area. Since it was a foreign financed project, the government also brought some Uzbek settlers to show to the international community that the project meant for the welfare of the whole nation, including the minorities. However, soon inter-ethnic conflict developed, and almost all the Uzbek minority group left the area. Due to their lack of farming experience, the Pashtun nomads could not stay for a long time, and the majority of them left the area.[58]

Hazaras in Politics

The Hazaras' participation in Afghan politics is minimal. Those who are visible in politics are the few hand-picked Hazaras, Maliks and Mirs who are loyal to the rulers of Kabul. Most of them are not well educated and are interested only in their own welfare. Besides, their numbers are so insignificant that their voices could hardly be heard. The majority of the Afghan leadership are heavily recruited from Kabul families and families from the eastern part of the country, such as Laghman Valley, Gardez, the main Pashtun tribal zone.[59] In the early 1960's, of the total Afghanistan population of 16 million (considering the higher estimation) there were 171 members in the Afghan Parliament. Among these 16 million there were two million Hazaras. According to equal share, the Hazaras should have more than 21 representatives in the Parliament.[60] But, in fact, the Hazaras could only have four representatives (one each from Besud, Dai Kundi, Dai Zangi, and Yak Aolang); all the rest went to the non-Hazara groups.

This happened when Afghanistan was a monarchy. On declaring Afghanistan as a republic in 1974, there was hope that things would change drastically for Hazaras and they might be allowed equal rights. But, unfortunately, nothing significant has changed. The Hazaras' reaction to the proclamation of so-called democracy could be extracted from the following. When a Hazara was asked if the democracy in Afghanistan would bring about any change in the socio-economic status of the Hazaras, his reply was no. He further explained that the Hazaras believe that it was just a family affair as one Sardar (King Zahir Shah) left and the other Sardar (President Daud) came. The rest is the same except that instead of Royal Kingdom, it is now called the Republic of Afghanistan. What happened in France during the last century could also be seen in present-day Afghanistan. The downfall of the French monarcy did not change the relationship between the rulers and the ruled.[61] The relationship between the Afghan rulers of Kabul is the same towards Hazaras as it has been for decades. If Afghanistan is a real democratic state, then it has a great responsibility to its citizens, especially the minorities. To quote Madison, "It is of great importance in a Republic, not only to guard the society against the oppression of its rulers; but to guard one part of the society against the injustice of the other part... If a majority be united by a common interest, the right of the minority will be insecure."[62] Such is the case in Afghanistan where the Afghan majority is united

against the Hazara minority and the consequences of such oppression has been described briefly in the preceding pages.

In a country where there is no political freedom and no free press, it is hard to hear the grievances of the suppressed sector of the population. There has been no organized struggle amongst the Hazaras to ask for equal rights in the Afghan society. Even if they did ask, it would be easily ignored. And, according to Frohlich, it would be very difficult for the Hazaras to be recognized as equal citizens.[63] Despite their lingering resentment, the Hazaras have not been active in their demand for equal rights. Besides their backwardness, the main reason for their calmness is the lack of aggressive leadership. Those who claim to be the representatives of the Hazaras are nothing but puppets who are, in the eyes of the Hazaras, as Adam-e Sarkar (government men). Some who are the sincere spokesmen, when coming forward to demand equal rights, face great financial problems. One such incident happened when Abdur Raouf Turkmani, a Hazara editor of **Payam-e Emroz,** a Persian newspaper, demanded equal rights for the minorities. The government not only fired Turkmani, but also forced the paper to shut down.[64] Such a situation has created great emotional problems. Finding no other means to express their feelings, many young educated Hazaras in 1960's and 1970's, joined the underground Communist Party, the Shola-e Javad.[65] According to Farr and Merriam, the Hazaras participated in Shola activities because they saw it as a vehicle for airing their ethnic grievances, not because of a commitment to any leftist ideology.[66]

Religious Freedom

As Frohlich has observed, in the center of the inter-ethnic tension, are, without a doubt, Hazaras, especially when we discuss the relationship between Afghans and Hazaras. On both sides, religious causes seem to have been the most important causes for these antipathies.[67] Religion in history has played a paradoxical role. It is responsible for making and unmaking prejudice. While the creeds of the great religions are universalistic, all stressing brotherhood, the practice of these creeds is frequently diversive and brutal. The sublimiting of religious ideas is offset by the horrors of persecution in the name of these same ideas.[68]

The 1931 constitution (under King Nadir Shah) partly suited the Afghan character and social system, and bluntly stated in Article I that the official religion of Afghanistan would be the Hanafi Shari'a of

Sunni Islam and that the King must be a Hanafi Muslim.[69] This was a clear indication for the Hazaras that from now on, according to the Afghan constitution, they would have to follow the Sunni Shari'a even though they have nothing to do with such a Shari'a. It is important to note that the target of Afghan religious discrimination is not the non-Muslim, but their fellow Muslim Hazaras. As noted by Dupree, little overt religious discrimination exists in Afghanistan, and more is present between Shia and Sunni Muslims than between Muslims and non-Muslims. Both Hindus and Sikhs, for example, celebrate their holy days without disturbance, and Afghan Muslim government officials now make opening speeches at such festivities.[70] However, not a single example in this regard could be presented in the case of Shia holy days celebrations. The fact that Afghans have caused great problems and disturbances during Shia religious celebrations, where even human blood was shed, is well documented.[71]

It has been the greatest desire of the Afghan rulers to convert the non-Sunni population of Afghanistan into one Sunni block. In some instances, for example in Kafiristan, they were successful in their desire as the whole population of Kafirs were converted into Sunni faith. However, they failed to convert the Hazaras. After defeating the Hazaras, Abdur Rahman appointed Sunni Afghan Mullas and Qazis throughout Hazarajat to carry out the task of their conversion. The Hazaras were first forced to declare themselves as Kafirs (infidels) and then were told to accept Islam of the Sunni faith. Even though Abdur Rahman used oppressive techniques to achieve his goal, there is not a single instance of Hazara conversion. Abdur Rahman's failure did not discourage his successors from trying to convert the Hazaras, as they are still presently appointing and sending the Sunni Mullas to Hazarajat.[72] These Sunni Mullas are there not only to perform their religious duties of conversion, but also serve as the "eyes and ears" of the government.

Arts and Communication

The Afghan government's preoccupation with Pashtuns and the propagation of their language, Pashtu, has greatly hampered the artistic growth of the rest of the non-Pashtun population. Both the print and audio-visual media are controlled and dominated by the Pashtuns. While Radio Kabul offers many programs for the Pashtuns; very few of the minorities have programs worth mentioning of their own and in their own languages. In the absence of their own language

programs, they are forced to listen to the programs broadcast from the neighboring countries. To satisfy their local taste, the Tajiks, the second largest ethnic minority, listen to Radio Tashkent, while Uzbeks and Turkmans turn to Radio Dushanbeh and Radio Ashkabad, respectively. Hazaras, on the other hand, have had no other alternatives until recently. Realizing their situation, Radio Pakistan, Quetta, in 1974, started broadcasting the Hazaragi program. This new Pakistani policy was not only to gain the sympathy of the Hazaras, but most probably to counterattack the Pashtunistan program of Radio Kabul which broadcast its program in Pashtu, Baluchi and Urdu. By introducing the Hazaragi program, the Pakistani government wanted to balance the propaganda war. Soon the Hazaragi program became so popular among the Hazaras that it caused a great concern among the rulers of Afghanistan. To check its popularity, the Afghan government banned the listening of the program. The police were instructed to ensure complete compliance with that order.[73]

Hazarajat's Development

The underdeveloped status of communication of Hazarajat is another example of Hazara discrimination. There are no year-round roads, bridges, telephone and telegraphic facilities. Much of the Hazarajat is completely cut off from the rest of the country during the long winter months. While the government collects a large sum of money from the Hazaras in taxes, very little is spent on the development of Hazarajat. Had the government built the much talked about national highway linking Kabul with Herat and passing through Hazarajat, the government and the Hazaras would have benefitted equally. But, the government built an alternative highway on a much longer route, linking Kabul with Qandahar and Herat, thus benefitting their own Pashtun inhabitants of these areas.

It has been well-documented that the Central Government has provided very few services and has very limited contacts through regional and local officials with the people. Frequent complaints about tax administration, especially livestock taxes, compulsory labor on the roads, and lack of schools, medical facilities and technical agricultural services have been recorded.[75]

Agriculture plays a very important role in Hazarajat's economy and still there is no activity on the government's part to improve the crop production and its marketing. In 1963 the Department of

Planning financed a study to report on the economic status of Hazarajat. The American research team came up with ten points of recommendation. Even though twenty-five years have passed, none of the recommendations have been fully implemented. Following were the recommendations offered by Allan,[75] which, if adopted, would improve the conditions of the Hazaras significantly:

1. Introduce a system of regulated grazing in order to increase the carrying capacity of the ranges and check further depletion.
2. Start a program for the discontinuance of cropping on slopes subject to serious erosion.
3. Establish seed testing plots and a program for multiplication and distribution of tested varieties. Nurseries should also be established.
4. In conjunction with the seed testing plots, conduct demonstration of improved cultural practices with appropriate accompanying educational activities.
5. Introduce insect and disease control equipment and materials through a demonstration and credit program.
6. Provide teams of technicians to plan and supervise a series of projects to improve irrigation facilities with cement and other materials to be provided on credit.
7. Introduce new and improved tools and implements such as scythes to replace sickles, small grain drills and moldboard plows.
8. Implement measures to encourage emigration.
9. Improvement of cottage industries trade and transportation.
10. Provision for coordination of activities of Ministries and provincial officials in the region.

Many foreign governments have shown an interest in Hazarajat development, but Afghan rulers of Kabul have dragged their feet. One such incident was the Yugoslavian government's offer to develop Hazarajat.[76] Since the terms were not favorable to the Afghan rulers, negotiations failed and Hazarajat lost the opportunity for development.

This chapter would not be complete if we did not discuss briefly the mutual distrust and hatred between the Afghans and Hazaras which has been recorded by 19th century historians. Since the Hazaras came into contact with their neighbors, especially the Afghans, an uneasy relationship developed. Extreme animosity led both the Afghans

and the Hazaras to create stories, both in prose and poetry, which in most cases are derogatory in nature. Some of these poems and stories have already been reported in the previous chapters; the rest will be presented in the following paragraphs.

When Afghans moved from their original homes in the Sulaiman Range, in the east, towards central Afghanistan, they found themselves face to face with Hazaras, a nation with different physiognomy, language and religious beliefs. Everything about Hazaras was strange to the Afghans. Hazaras, who were so simple that it became proverbial among their neighbors, were cheated by Afghans during their bartered exchange business.[77] Both Afghans and Hazaras, not understanding each other's customs and language, made fun of each other.

When Elphinstone visited the neighborhood of the Afghans in early 19th century, he was told by them that the Hazaras were a strange nation, that they possessed the power of fascination, and that they could eat the liver of any person on whom they fixed their eyes.[78] Hayat Khan also recorded this story and mentioned that the Afghans called the Hazaras Jigar-Khor (liver eaters), using charms and incantations to draw the heart out of a man and then eat it.[79]

Afghans have also made fun of the Hazaras' physiognomy, specifically their Dutch-build and scanty facial hair. One such couplet states, "Hazara dunba darad, pushte koonesh-naghara darad," meaning that the Hazaras' buttocks are so large that it seems they have gongs on their backs.[80] About their scanty facial hair, Hayat Khan have recorded the following Afghan couplet as, "Hazara moi na dra, Hazara dunba dara,"[81] meaning, the Hazara men have no facial hair.

Even Pashtun poet Khushhal Khan Khatak could not hide his hatred towards the Hazaras and expressed himself in the following couplets:

> "Whether Baluch or Hazarah, both are dirty and abominable
> They have neither religion nor faith, May shame attend them!"[82]

On their part, the Hazaras have their own derogatory remarks about the Afghans and their language, Pashtu. Leech has recorded one such couplet along with its background, which is still very popular among the Hazara children. On seeing an Afghan, the Hazara children will sing the couplet and will not stop singing until he is out of

sight. The couplet tells about the stupidity of the Afghans:

> "Afghan-e khar, tobra ba sar baglee bo khar, dingla be zan"[83]

Tate has also recorded a couplet about the Afghans and the rugged character of their language, Pashtu:

> "Farsi sheer-o shakar ast Pashto goz-e khar ast"[84]

According to Tate's explanation, among all the languages spoken on the face of the earth, Persian is the sweetest language, while Pashtu language is nothing but the braying of an ass.

References

1. Cressey: 238
2. Griffiths (1967): 65
3. Ibid: 66
4. Kessell: 8-9
5. Dupree, et al, Afghanistan in the 1970's: 203
6. Poullada, Pashtun Role: 28
7. Cressey: 556
8. Poullada, Pashtun Role: 2
9. Times, The London, Aug. 2, 1882
10. Harlan: 472
11. Broadfoot: 346
12. Leech, Suppl. Notes: 339
13. Ibid: 334
14. Wheeler: 621
15. Frohlich: 187, Footnote #268
16. Canfield, Hazara Integration: 2
17. Humlum: 88; Dianous 19: 93; Dianous 19: 93; Eberhard: 21 Dupree, Afghanistan: 465
18. Newell & Newell: 101
19. Dupree, Tribalism: 61
20. Ibid: 61
21. Claus, et al.: 13
22. Berghe: 38
23. Ibid: 13
24. Ibid: 14
25. Canfield, Hazara Integration: 6
26. Ibid: 7
27. Allport: 6
28. Ibid: 9
29. Cooke: 325
30. Allport: 146
31. Ibid: 147
32. Eberhard: 3
33. Poullada, Problems of: 98
34. Faiz, 3: 1057
35. Pakistan Times, Oct. 31, 1974
36. Canfield, Faction and Conversion: 5
37. Dupree, Afghanistan: 465
38. Canfield, Faction 5
39. Schurmann, Mongols: 153
40. Dianous, 19: 93
41. Eberhard: 3-4
42. Dianous, 19: 93
43. Danial, et al: 21
44. Eberhard: 21
45. Stat. Pocketbook: 122-123
46. Hashimi, Afghanistan Provinces: 126-127
47. Wilber: 204
48. Faiz, 1222
49. Jung: 8
50. Frohlich: 213
51. Buscher: 117
52. Ibid: 156
53. Ibid: 156
54. Frohlich: 213-214
55. Ibid: 214-214
56. Claus, et al.: 13
57. Gittler: 1
58. Dupree, Afghanistan: 502-504
59. Eberhard: 6
60. Dianous, 20: 95
61. Arende: 69
62. Cooke: 351
63. Frohlich: 214-215
64. Dupree, Afghanistan: 610
65. Pakistan Times, Oct. 31, 1974
66. Farr and Mirriam, Afghan Resistance, 136
67. Frohlich: 186, Note #267
68. Allport: 444
69. Dupree, Afghanistan: 464
70. Ibid: Political Use of Religion: 208
71. Masson, 2: 315; Dupree, Afghanistan; 346
72. Dupree, Political Use of Religion: 199
73. Pakistan Times, April 18, 1975
74. Allan: 2
75. Ibid: 7-8
76. Konig: Footnote #355
77. Leech, Suppl. Acct. 334
78. Elphinstone: 210
79. Hayat Khan: 309
80. Leech, Suppl. Acct.: 334
81. Hayat Khan: 307
82. Iqbal, 2: 288
83. Leech, An Acct.: 306
84. Tate: 196

Appendix

Who's Who Among Hazaras

Abdul Hussain, Maqsoudi

He is the leader of a small Hazara resistance party, the Ettehad-e-Mujahidin-Islami (Union of Islamic Fighters), the only Hazara party which is operated outside Hazarajat, with its headquarters in Quetta. He was also an ex-member of Parliament from Nawar, Ghazni, during the last days of King Zahir Shah's reign (1970-1973). He played an important role in coordinating the flow of supplies from Pakistan into the Hazarajat.

Abdul Karim, Mesaq

A Hazara from Ghazni, he came to the government service during the Taraki regime (1978-1979). He was the Minister of Taxation.

Abdul Khaliq, Hazara

He was a Ghazni Hazara who was an adopted son of Ghulam Nabi Charkhi. At the age of seventeen, while a student at Nijat, he killed King Nadir Shah (1929-1933), and Zahir Shah killed his entire family as punishment. For more details, refer to Chapter 5 under the heading of "Hazaras and the Rulers of Kabul."

Abdul Raouf, Turkmani

A Turkman Hazara born in 1910, who after secondary education and military training, served in the Afghan military. He was one of the few Hazara intellectuals who became a prominent journalist. He was the editor and publisher of Persian newspaper, **Payam-e Waydan.** In 1966 he was hired as an editor by Ghulam Nabi Khater to publish his Persian weekly, **Payam-e Emroz.** Turkmani, like many other Afghan minorities, were unsatisfied with government handling of their rights. Upon his new position as the editor of **Payam-e Emroz**, Turkmani immediately demanded more rights for the minorities and criticized the corruption among the cabinet of Prime Minister Yosuf. He was also critical of Prime Minister Maimandwal, the predecessor of Yosuf.

The Afghan government was not used to such criticism, especially from a Hazara editor, and forced the publisher to dismiss Turkmani and close the weekly. After that he held various jobs and was arrested by the Taraki government and jailed. It is said that he was killed in jail by Taraki's men. Turkmani was the father-in-law of Shah Ali Akbar, Shahristani, another Hazara intellectual.

Abdul Wahid Sorabi, Ph.D.

Sorabi is the son of Mohammad Naoroz Khan and was born in Ghazni in 1927. After completing his primary education at home, he was admitted to Nijat High School in Kabul. In 1951, he graduated from Nijat with the highest grade and received a scholarship to study in Europe where in 1957 he achieved his Ph.D. in Economics.

After completing his education in Europe, he returned to Afghanistan and worked at Kabul University teaching economics. Since 1960, he has been the Assistant Dean of the Department of Economics at Kabul University, and was Minister of Tribal Affairs in Etemadi's first cabinet (1967-1969) and Minister of Planning during Etemadi's second cabinet (1969-1971). He continued to hold this ministrial post during Abdul Zahir's cabinet (1971-1973).

Ahmad Ali Khan, Jaghuri, General Baba

He was also known as Toran Janral Ahmad Ali Baba. He was the younger brother of Senator Nadir Ali Khan and was the first Hazara to reach such an army rank. It is a widespread belief among the Hazaras that he and his family were the men of Zahir Shah and Sardar

Mohammad Daud and that the Afghans rewarded them for their loyalty. After the coup, Daud removed Toran Janral from the command of the Ghazni Division and made him a member of the Military Tribunal in the Ministry of Defense. He died during Daud's reign (1973-1978).

Ahmad Wahidi, Shaikh, Poladian

A Hazara theologian and religious leader living in Mashhad, Iran, he taught theology (1960-1970) at Madrasa Bagh-e Rizwan, a religious school in Mashhad. He has written a book about the Hazara history entitled **Kashf-un Nasab** (Discovery of Parentage).

Ali, Beheshti, Sayed

Hazarajat, with its Shia majority, was one of the first regions to declare itself independent after the communist coup of April 1978. Leadership came from the United Islamic Council (Shura-ye-Ittifaq-e-Islami), headed by Sayed Ali Beheshti of Waras, the leading figure among Hazara reformists of the 1950's and 1960's. In order to spread his revivalist and reformist ideas among the Hazara youth, he opened a school (Madrasa) at Waras that also taught public school students during their holidays.

After the communists seized power and the Hazarajat declared itself independent, Hazara leadership coalesced. In September 1979, a council of elders and Mirs was held at Waras and elected Beheshti as president of the Shura. Though other Hazara resistance groups like Nasr and Sepah have constantly challenged his leadership, he is still the most popular Hazara resistance leader. When Nasr managed to strike a decisive blow against the Shura in the summer of 1984, it forced Beheshti to flee his headquarters in Waras. He is now said to be under the protection of Sayed Jagran, his commander-in-chief. Politically, he is of the opinion that they should fight the Russians along with the Pashtun resistance groups and insist on Hazara Afghan unity.

Amir Shah, Hassanyar, Ph.D.

A Yak Aolang Hazara who, after completing his basic education at home, went to the United States for higher education, where he obtained both a Master's and Doctorate degrees. Currently he is a faculty member and teaches forestry science at the Faculty of Agricultural Science, Kabul University.

Asad Ullah, Nuqtadan

A Hazara religious leader from the Madrasah-e Taohid party, he was very active (during Zahir Shah regime) in the political struggle against the Afghan government. Finally, seeing no hope for political justice in this country, he moved his headquarters to Iran just after the overthrow of the Shah. Since then, he has established a publishing company under the name of Maktab-e Taohid and concentrates on Islamic publications.

Azim Beg, Mir, Sardar

He was a very brave and influential Hazara chief of Seh Pai, Dai Zangi, to whom Abdur Rahman granted the title of Sardar in return for his services during the Hazara war (1891-1893). He was not only the leader of a large section of Dai Zangi, but also had an extensive knowledge of the interior of Hazarajat. This was an important qualification for his selection by Amir as there was no Afghan general who knew anything about the interior of Hazarajat.

Amir sent for Sardar Azim to come to Kabul where he was given messages to be delivered to the Hazara chiefs of different tribes. Amir instructed him to arrest the Hazara elders and bring them to Kabul if they did not listen to him.

For a while, Sardar Azim served Amir very well. After defeating the different Hazara tribes and leading the Afghans to the interior of Hazarajat, he suddenly changed his mind and joined the Hazaras' fight against Abdur Rahman.

After fighting the Afghan forces at different fronts, he was finally driven to Ghizab where he was defeated by the combined Afghan forces. After his arrest, his face was covered with mud and a garland made of sheep bones, hearts and livers was placed around his neck. To humiliate him further, the Afghans forced him to ride a donkey facing backwards, and paraded him through the streets of Herat. After that, he was sent to Kabul where he died in prison.

Barkat Ali, Colonel

A Bobash Hazara from Quetta, he reached to a high military rank in the Pakistani Army, receiving many military awards and medals. He was among the first few Hazaras who reached higher positions through promotion and seniority. In the 1970's, he also served as a Military Attache in the Pakistani Embassy at Tehran, Iran. After a

long military service, he retired and spent the last few years of his life in Quetta.

Faiz Mohammad, Katib, Mulla

Upon Amir Habibullah's order, this Hazara scholar edited the history of Afghanistan under the title of **Siraj-al-Tawarikh,** the chronological history of Amir Abdur Rahman's reign. During King Amanullah's reign (1919-1929), he taught history. He finally emigrated to Mashhad, Iran, and settled there.

Fateh Mohammad Khan, Besudi

A Hazara from Mangasak, Besud, he was arrested by Zahir Shah for taking part in an alleged plot to overthrow the king. He was jailed for fourteen years. While he was in jail he met and became a friend of Karmal who was also imprisoned by Zahir Shah. King Zahir Shah, during the last year of his power (1973), released him from jail and he settled in Kabul. In 1979 someone shot him in his home at Qala Shadi. It is said that the Parchami communists were responsible for his murder.

Fatima Changezi, Professor

A Besud woman from Quetta, she was the first among the Hazara women to graduate from college and opt to become a teacher at Government Girls College, Quetta. She is a professor and teaches Persian language. She is the sister of Sharbat Ali Changezi.

Ghulam Haider

A Hazara from Quetta, he was the first among his tribesmen to enter the Pakistan Foreign Service, and in the 1970's was the Vice Council at the Pakistani Embassy in Australia.

Ghulam Haider, Naitaqe, Ph.D.

He is a Yak Aolang Hazara who teaches agricultural science at the University of Kabul. He received both his Master's and Doctorate degrees in the 1970's from the United States.

Gul Mohammad, Captain, Senator

A very popular Hazara political leader from Quetta, who, after retiring from the military, entered politics and served as a member of the Quetta Municipality. During Prime Minister Bhutto's time (1971-

1977), he was elected as Senator to represent Quetta region and his tribe in the Pakistani National Assembly. He was a dedicated leader and served the Hazaras well. He died in the late 1970's.

Gulistan Khan

He was the chief of the Hazaras of Mohammad Khwaja during the early decades of the 19th century, and was succeeded by his son, Ghulam Hussain Khan, as the chief of his tribe.

Hussain, Sayed, Haji, Senator

A Hazara Sayed from Quetta, he owns a coal mine and is also a prominent political figure. During his political career, he was jailed several times. He was once a member and a high official of Abdul Vali Khan's National Awami Party. He was also a senator from Quetta during the early days of general Zia's reign (1978-1980).

Ibrahim Khan, Gao Sawar

A Hazara from Shahristan, he was known affectionately as Ibrahim Khan-e Gao Sawar (the cow rider). He became famous during the reign of King Zahir Shah (1933-1973) when he rebelled against him. The reason for his rebellion was that the Afghan officials stationed in Shahristan were making the lives of the Hazaras unbearable by demanding more taxes. One kind of tax that the Afghan officials were collecting was based on the number of milching cows. Amir Abdur Rahman who, after defeating the Hazaras, imposed this tax on them, and told them that since cow's milk was their main source of butter, it was therefore a taxable item. According to this system of taxation, they had to pay at the rate of about one kilo of clarified butter (Ghee) for each milk cow. However, when the Afghan officials demanded that the Hazaras also pay one kilo of butter for each donkey that they possessed, the Hazaras thought that it was a ridiculous demand. The Hazaras wrote to the Kabul government, and when there was no response after several pleas, they took the matter into their own hands, and in the late 1940's revolted against the government. The leader of the Shahristan uprising was Ibrahim Khan. The Hazaras killed all the Afghan officials stationed in Shahristan and refused to pay taxes. The Afghan government sent a large force, and after killing many Hazaras, arrested their leaders including Gao Sawar. When Gao Sawar met King Zahir Shah, he explained the whole situation and told him that they revolted because of the Afghan

officials' excessiveness. The King met him in 1947 and told him the only way he could pardon him was to relocate him in the north, in Mazar-e Shrif, and not allow him to come back to Shahristan again. After living in Mazar-e Sharif for several years he settled in Kabul. He was also involved in an attempted coup d'etat in 1949, against the government of Prime Minister Sardar Shah Mahmud Khan.

Karim Bakhsh, Haveldar

He was a Poladi Hazara who retired from army service and settled in Parachinar, Pakistan. He was an officer with the Hazara Pioneers and fought with the British Indian forces in the First World War. He was a well-decorated army officer and the British Indian Government also awarded him a monthly cash award for two generations. After he settled in Parachinar, he started a business and soon became a prominent figure among the business community. He died in the late 1940's; his eldest son took over his business. He left behind six sons including this author.

Karima, Keshtmand

She is the wife of Prime Minister Sultan Ali. She was among the very few women in Afghanistan who worked with their husbands side by side and who took part in the country's politics. She obtained her education in Kabul and became a teacher. She also worked in the Kabul branch of UNESCO. Because of her experience in child and women affairs, she was appointed as Head of Child Welfare Department (Riasat-e Kodakistan). She is also a leader of Democratic Women's Organization of Afghanistan.

Khuda Dad Hazara, General

He was raised and educated in Kabul, and obtained his military education both in Kabul and in New Delhi, India. He is a member of Parcham faction of the Communist Party. He taught military science at military school in Kabul. In 1987 he was promoted to the rank of General by the Karmal government. He is the commander of Afghan forces stationed at Herat.

Khuda Nazar, Brigadier

A Hazara of Qarabagh, Ghazni, he was born in 1850. During Amir Habibullah's time (1901), he was the commander of Zabardast and Zardfrosh Battalions. In 1905, Amir Habibullah promoted him to

the rank of Brigadier, and since then was known as Brigadier. In 1906, he was the commandant in Khost and the next year was relieved from his post and called back to Kabul where he was placed in charge of recruiting army personnel. He served the government of Amir Habibullah until 1913. He retired and lived in Kabul for the rest of his life.

Khuda Nazar, Qambaree

A Besud Hazara from Quetta, he was in the civil service in different positions at various parts of the country. Besides his many civilian positions, he was also the Chairman of Municipality, Shikarpur District in Sind Province, and the Secretary of Baluchistan Provincial Local Government Board. He has authored many articles about Hazaras and their language. He was the informant for Professor Elizabeth Bacon and provided her necessary information while she was completing her article entitled, "Obok." He is now retired and resides in Quetta.

Marshal Sultan, Sardar

He was one of the pioneer Hazaras who after their defeat at the hands of Amir Abdur Rahman moved to Quetta. He was an Uruzgani Hazara and, though disputed by other Hazaras, used the title of Sardar. The British Indian government recognized him as an "Afghan Refugee" and gave him a pittance allowance. It is said that he had a congenial personality and was a likeable gentleman who commanded respect as an individual from all the Hazaras. He was the first Hazara civilian appointed as a commissioner in Quetta City Municipality.

Mohammad Akbar, Tani

A Hazara from Panjao, Bamian, he was born in 1922 and educated privately. He was a member of both the Wolosi and Loya Jirga and represented Panjao.

Mohammad Askar, Qazi

He was a Hazara Sayed from Hujristan and was the spiritual leader of the Hazara tribes during their war against Amir Abdur Rahman. He was among the Hazara leaders who declared a holy war against the Afghans. He was very close to Sardar Azim Beg and fought along with him during the final days of the Hazara war. After his arrest, the Afghan officials cut off his ears and sent him to Kabul

where he died in prison.

Mohammad Aslam Khan, Besudi

He was the son of Firqa Mishr Fateh Mohammad Khan, Besudi. During Zahir Shah's rule he was a Wakil (member) of Afghan Parliament and represented the Besud region for twelve years.

Mohammad Asif, Shaikh, Mohsini

He is the leader of another small Hazara resistance movement, the Harakat-e Islami (Islamic Movement). Based on the borders of the Hazarajat, Mohsini opened the door of his part not only to the other Shia minorities, but also accepted the Pashtuns among its members. It is well known that in the beginning Mohsini had links with Iran, but later became disillusioned with Khomeini's Islamic Revolution. He belongs to the Hazaras of Qandahar. He is a religious scholar of some repute, and although he was apparently not actively engaged in Afghan politics prior to the Communist revolution, he was the organizer of a cultural group known as Subh-e Danish (Dawn of Wisdom) whose members became vigorous opponents of Kabul's communist regime. In August 1980, Iran banned his party and all financial aid to Mohsini was stopped.

Mohammad Hussain, Khan, Hazara

A Hazara chief of extraordinary intelligence and knowledge, he became very powerful and influential during the reign of Abdur Rahman. When Sardar Azim rebelled against Amir, he was very disappointed and wanted to punish Azim for his disloyalty. He contacted Mohammad Hussain and offered him the governorship of Hazarajat with the condition he smash the Hazara rebellion and defeat Sardar Azim. He was given a large amount of arms and ammunition.

With his official power and title and a huge quantity of arms in his possession, soon the Hazara chief started an opposing movement against the Afghan authority. Seeing this, Amir sent a large force and defeated the Hazara chief (1892).

Mohammad Hussain, Sadiqi Neeli, Shaikh

Beheshti's pro-Afghan and Afghan nationalist views have been challenged by his colleagues. One of his deputies, Sadiqi Neeli, from the town of Neeli, in Dai Kundi region, demanded that the Shura fight the Pashtuns as well as the Russian forces. When Beheshti refused in

the summer of 1982, Sadiqi turned to the Iranians, and with their help formed the Organization for Victory (Sazman-e Nasr), generally known as Nasr. With the help of Nasr forces, Sadiqi tried unsuccessfully to capture Waras, but was driven back by Sayed Jagran. However, in 1985, Nasr drove the Shura completely from Waras and central Hazarajat. It is said that Sadiqi led an attempt to take over the Shura at an early stage of its development.

Mohammad Hussain, Sardar

He was the son of a Hazara chief in Ghazni who later joined the British Indian Army and served in the 2nd Sikhs Regiments and reached to the rank of Subedar. Since he was very familiar with the Hazarajat and the surrounding areas, the British asked him to join them as a Native Attache in the Afghan Boundary Commission. In 1885, he accompanied the Boundary Commission and assisted them during their tour of Hazarajat.

Mohammad Hassan, Sayed, Jagran

This young Hazara is the military commander of Sayed Ali Beheshti of Waras, who is the president of Shura. He is commonly known as Sayed Jagran. He was a major (Jagran), and later a general in the Afghan armed forces during Zahir Shah's time. In 1984, when the Hazaras members of Nasr and Sepah drove Beheshti from Waras, Jagran accompanied him and recaptured it some months later. However, in 1985, he could not face the massive and well organized forces of Nasr and Sepah and Waras was lost again as Nasr and Sepah drove the Shura completely out of central Hazarajat. It is said that Jagran's combat fronts are the best organized and because of their location on the eastern fringe of the Hazarajat, they have managed to maintain outside contacts with non-Hazara fronts.

Mohammad Ishaq, Beg

A Qalandar Hazara from Quetta, he was among the pioneers in body building competitions and was responsible for building an interest among the Hazara youths for the art of body building. After competing for several years, in 1957 he was selected as "Mr. Pakistan," a great honor for a Hazara, a member of a small minority group. In 1960, he competed for "Mr. Asia" and achieved a third position. He is now retired from body building and engaged in private business.

Mohammad Ishaq Khan, Sardar

As the youngest son of Sardar Yazdan Khan, he represented the Hazaras of Quetta for many decades. He was a shrewd politician and was successful in obtaining many concessions for the Hazaras from the provincial and central governments. Before he entered politics, he was a police officer, a businessman, and a coal mine owner. He was also a member of the West Pakistan Assembly during President Ayub's regime (1958-1969). He was the first well known Hazara to marry a woman who was not a member of a Hazara tribe. He died in 1974.

Mohammad Ismail, Mubaligh

He is a Besud Hazara who was born in 1936. He obtained his education privately and is considered among the Hazara intellectuals. He was a member of the Afghan Historical Society. In 1964 he was a member of Loya Jirga and in 1968 was a member of Wolosi Jirga, representing the Besud region of Wardak Province.

Mohammad Ismail, Sayed, Agha-e Balkhi

He was one of the most respected Hazara religious leaders. He was born in 1919 in Balkhab, an area of Juzjan Province on the northern edge of the Hazarajat. He first studied religious subjects with his father and later completed his training in Iraq. In 1949 he was arrested by King Zahir Shah for his plot of coup d'etat against him. He was put in jail where he was poisoned and later died. The Hazaras were very angry over the loss of their religious leader and they poured into Kabul from all over the country to participate in his funeral. When Zahir Shah saw such a massive crowd, he was overheard as saying he didn't know whether he or Balkhi was the king of Afghanistan.

It is said that Balkhi and many influential Qizilbash leaders of Kabul were involved in this plot. According to their plan, Prime Minister Shah Mahmud would be killed during the celebration of the Afghan new year (Nao Roz) at the Kart-e Sakhi. After the overthrow of Zahir Shah, Balkhi would become the president of the republic. It is said that this plot of coup d'etat was in response to Zahir Shah's inclination towards Russia and that Balkhi and his party had the backing of some foreign country. However, the Afghan government arrested all the responsible persons and put them in prison. It is further said that Guljan Wardak was a government informant who somehow

infiltrated the ranks of Balkhi and reported to the Afghan authority well ahead of time.

Mohammad Issa, Gharjistani

A Hazara from Gharjistan, he emigrated to Quetta, Pakistan, after the communists took over the government in Kabul. He has published several short stories in Persian about the Hazara freedom fighters and their struggle against the Russians. He is also the editor of a Persian newsletter published in Quetta which deals exclusively with matters of Hazara Mujahideen interests.

Mohammad Issa Khan, Sardar

The second son of Sardar Yazdan Khan, he was the most popular leader among the common Hazaras. Though he was the owner of a coal mine and a successful businessman, he never hesitated to help the Hazaras. Despite the fact that he was very popular, due to his sincerity he never sought a political office. He was an active member of the Muslim League Party and took part in the struggle for Pakistan independence. He was active in the Muslim League even after the creation of Pakistan. After his father became ill and was hospitalized, he became the undisputed leader of not only the Oqi Jaghuri tribe, but of all the Hazaras. He died of a heart attack in the 1960's. One of his sons, Sardar Nisar Ali, is currently a member of Baluchistan Provincial Assembly.

Mohammad Juma, Haji

As a very wealthy Hazara elder, he controlled and dominated the business community of Parachinar, Pakistan, for many decades. His family was pro-Turi and until his death supported the idea of Hazara-Turi Pashtun cooperation and unity. After his death, his brother and sons took over the business.

Mohammad Musa, Khan, General

He is the oldest son of Sardar Yazdan Khan. He was a Niak (junior officer) in Hazara Pioneers and went to the Indian Military Academy in Dehra-Dun as a cadet and graduated with the first batch of Indian commissioned officers. He was posted to the 6th Royal Battalion, 13th Frontier Force Rifles as a Platoon Commander in 1936. He took part in the Waziristan Operations in 1936-1938 and in World War II, where he served in North Africa. He served with distinction in the

Pakistani Army and became the commander-in-chief of Pakistan Armed Forces during President Mohammad Ayub Khan's regime (1958-1969). After he retired from the army, President Ayub appointed him as Governor of West Pakistan (1967-1969), and after serving for a few years, he retired and settled in Karachi. In 1987, he was appointed as governor of Baluchistan Province by President Zia-ul-Haq. He is the author of a book, his autobiography. He is also the father-in-law of Air Vice Marshal Sharbat Ali Changezi.

Mohammad Raza, Karbalai

He is a Besud Hazara who is said to be born in the last decade of the 19th century. He was privately educated and was appointed as a senator from Besud Region of Wardak Province.

Mohammad Yaqub, La'li, Ph.D.

He is a Hazara of Jaghatu. After completing his studies at Kabul University, he came to the United States and received his Ph.D. in Engineering. Upon his return to Kabul, during Zahir Shah's reign (1933-1973), he worked for Helmand Valley Authority. Later he became the Minister of Public Works in Etemadi's second cabinet (1969-1971). When Daud became president, he removed Yaqub from his position.

Mohammad Yosuf, Abghari

A Mashhad Hazara, he attended military school in Iran and later became an officer in the Iranian Army. He was known for his love and affection towards his Hazara tribes in Iran, who were known as Barbari. Abghari had an opportunity to meet the king, Raza Shah, the Great, to whom he gave a petition asking him to change his tribes' name to either Hazara or Khawari. The Shah granted his approval and issued a firman (a decree) in 1938; he instructed his premier and the army chief of staff to enforce it. It was due to Abghari's efforts that the name of Hazaras in Iran was changed from Barbari to Khawari.

Mohammad Yosuf, Saulat al Saltanat

An Iranian Hazara, he was the son of Shuja al Mulk, the controller in the province of Khurasan during the time of Nasir-ud Din Shah, Qajar (1848-1896). He was also responsible for maintaining peace and order in the Afghanistan-Iran border regions of Jam, Bakharz and Kwaf. Mohammad Yosuf was also a member of the Majlis-e Shoora-e

Milli (Iranian National Assembly).

It has been recorded that when the Iranian government reduced his power, he started acts of sabotage in the border region and instigated other tribes to rebel against the central Iranian Government. In 1894, he was consequently expelled to Yazd and Fars and land was given to him in exchange for his confiscated estate.

He returned to the border regions in the late 1890's and started his agitation once again. The religious leader in Turbat-e Jam, Haji Qazi, wrote to him to surrender, but he refused this request and continued his rebellion. In 1902, he was finally challenged by Iranian forces under the command of Colonel Haider Gholi Baigon, near Rabat Sang-Bast and fled to Qalat. Finding no other alternative, he finally surrendered to the authority in Qalat and was brought to Mashhad where he was imprisoned.

Nadir Ali, Allahdad, Haji

He was a Turkman Hazara of Surkh Parsa, and it is said that in his earlier days he was very poor. However, due to his years of hard labor and good business practices, he accumulated considerable wealth. Soon he owned one of the largest transporting companies in Afghanistan. When the communists took over the Kabul government (1978), they also confiscated his company. It is said that he was kidnapped and killed by Nasr forces while he was fighting against the Russians. He was a member of Shura and opposed Nasr activities.

Nadir Ali Khan, Jaghuri, Rais

A Jaghuri Hazara, he was born in 1897. He was privately educated and in 1964 was a member of Majlis-e Ayan. Later, he was appointed as senator by King Zahir Shah. He was the older brother of another prominent Hazara, General Ahmad Ali Jaghuri. He was arrested by the Taraki communist regime; it is rumored that he was killed while imprisoned.

Nasir Ali, Haji, Sobedar

A Dai Zangi Hazara from Quetta, he was one of the most popular political figures. He was very active in the struggle for the independence of Pakistan, and was an active member of the Muslim League Party. After the independence, he led the Hazara tribal volunteers to liberate Kashmir. He and his Hazara young men fought galantly and he was given the honorary title of "Ghazi-e Kashmir." He was a sports

enthusiast and was responsible for creating an interest in sports, especially soccer, among the Hazara youths. He died in early 1950.

Qurban Ali, Sayed, Razavi

A Hazara Sayed from Jaghatu, he was educated privately and became a member of Wolosi Jirga representing Jaghatu, Ghazni.

Ramzan Ali, Sharifi

A Jaghuri Hazara, privately educated in Islamic law and philosophy, he was deputy in the Wolosi Jirga or Afghan Parliament representing the Jaghuri Region.

Safdar Ali, Jaghuri

He was the son of Sher Ali Khan, the chief of Jaghuri Hazaras during the 1880's. During the early days of his reign, Amir Abdur Rahman was very happy with him and granted him a Khil'at (robe of honor). Later on, however, when Safdar Ali and his brother, Sultan Ahmad Ali, went to Qarabagh and started trouble for the Afghans, Amir sent a combined force of Afghans and Hazaras to arrest him and bring him to Kabul. In July 1882, he somehow escaped from jail but was caught by Afghan soldier on his way to Peshawar. He was again placed in jail, where he died.

Samad Ali, Haji

A Poladi Hazara leader from Parachinar, in Frontier Province of Pakistan, he was active in local politics and was successful in separating the majority of the Hazaras from the domination of the Turi Pashtun tribe. He was a very successful businessman and a philanthropist. He helped the Hazara emigrants from Afghanistan settle in Pakistan. He was also helpful to the Hazara pilgrims from Afghanistan, and arranged for their lodging and boarding during their stay in Parachinar. Among his sons, one is a high-ranking civil service officer, the second son is a lawyer, and the youngest son is an army officer. Upon his death in 1950, his eldest son took over his father's business.

Shah Ali Akbar, Shahristani

A professor in the Department of Letters and Arts at Kabul University, he has an extensive knowledge of Hazaragi and has published numerous articles in **Adab**, a University of Kabul publi-

cation. During his youth as a student he helped the Royal Danish Mission in Hazarajat and was a linguistic guide to Professor Ferdinand. He is the son-in-law of Abdul Raouf Turkmani.

Shah Zaman, Jaghuri, Ph.D.

A Jaghuri Hazara who, after completing his basic education in Kabul, received his Master's degree from The American University, Beirut and his Ph.D. from Ohio State University, Cincinnatti, Ohio. He is a structural engineer and works for Bechtel Engineering Company in Atlanta, Georgia, where he lives with his wife and son.

Sharbat Ali, Changezi, Air Vice Marshal

A Besud Hazara from Quetta, he reached the highest rank in the Pakistani Air Force through his seniority and excellent performance in the 1965 India-Pakistan War. He is one of the most decorated Air Force officers in Pakistan. During Daud Khan's reign, he also served briefly as Military Attache in the Pakistani Embassy in Kabul. He is the son-in-law of General Mohammad Musa Khan, the Governor of Baluchistan Province of Pakistan.

Sulaiman Khan, Haji

An Uruzgani Hazara from Quetta and a coal mine owner, he is very active in local politics and has always participated in matters concerning the Hazaras. He is the author of a booklet about the history of Hazaras in Pakistan with the title of **"Tarikhcha wa Khatirat-e Qowm-e Hazara dar Pakistan."**

Sultan Ali, Keshtmand

Born in 1936 into a small trader's family near Kabul, he did well in school. At Kabul University he earned a degree in Economics. From 1960 to 1972 he held many positions, and in 1967 became the Director General, Economic Section, in the Ministry of Mines and Industry. An original member of the first PDPA (People Democratic Party of Afghanistan) Central Committee, in 1965 he ran for a seat in the Lower House of Parliament and lost. In 1966 he became a member in the Central Committee of Khalq.

The PDPA broke into two parties in 1967, and he joined Babrak Karmal and the Parcham wing. In 1977, when the PDPA reunited, he became a member of the Politburo. When the party seized power in 1978, he served briefly as Minister of Planning. In August 1978, he

was arrested for allegedly plotting against the revolutionary government of Nur Mohammad Taraki and was sentenced to death. In October 1979 this sentence was reduced to life imprisonment.

When the Soviets installed the Parcham faction to power, Keshtmand became, concurrently, Minister of Planning, Deputy Prime Minister, a Politburo member, and Vice President of the Revolutionary Council. In the cabinet reorganization of July 1981, he became Prime Minister and Minister of Planning, but soon dropped the Planning portfolio.

Westerners who met Keshtmand in person, found him to be one of the more impressive of the DRA (Democratic Republic of Afghanistan) leaders. Though soft spoken, he is self-assured and energetic and gave the impression of being very intelligent. Even the Pashtuns, who disliked him for being a Hazara, described him as hard working, a good administrator, and in terms of intelligence and capability, "perhaps the best of the lot." Unlike Karmal, he speaks English very fluently.

Yazdan Bakhsh, Aghai, Lady

She was the daughter of a Dai Zangi chief whom Mir Yazdan Bakhsh married in order to solidify his authority. She accompanied the Mir on all important occasions and was a woman of extraordinary qualifications and natural powers of mind. She used to put on a masculine robe, and ornament herself with a sword and shield, a bow and arrow, a spear, a dagger, and a matchlock. She appeared in the field of battle with her husband. When Amir Dost Mohammad invited Mir Yazdan Bakhsh to Kabul, his wife, suspicious of the Afghans, accompanied her husband. It was due to her help that the Mir escaped from the Afghan jail.

Burnes, in his book, **Cabool: A Personal Narrative**, mentioned:

> "There are however, women in this country who have pre-eminently distinguished themselves by their conjugal devotion: and I should do wrong were I pass over in silence. Aghai, the Lady of Yazdan Bakhsh, a Hazara chief, whom Dost Mohammad Khan detained at Cabool as a hostage. Yazdan Bakhsh urged her to escape from the jail which she effected by changing her attire to that of a man, and dropping from the window of her prison. She then mounted a horse and fled to the Besud country, between Cabool and Bameean. She was persueded by two of the Ameer's officers, accompanied by some of her husband's enemies. She was overtaken, her

companion was killed, but she herself escaped, and reached the first fort in her own country, from the walls of which she defied her pursuers, proudly exclaiming, 'This is the land of Yazdan Bakhsh!'"

Yazdan Bakhsh, Mir

He was the youngest son of Mir Vali Beg of Karzar, who was slain by a petty chief (Khavanin). On the death of his father, the eldest son, Mir Mohammad Shah, became the master of Besud whom Yazdan Bakhsh defeated and himself became the chief of Besud (1843-1863). He increased his territory by defeating the smaller Hazara tribes and strengthened his power by marrying the daughters of chiefs of Dai Zangi, Dai Kundi and the Shaikh Ali Hazaras. His increased power alarmed the ruler of Kabul, Amir Dost Mohammad Khan, who, through the help of Kabul's Qizilbash, brought him to Kabul and arrested him. Somehow, he was able to escape and returned to Besud.

Later, Amir Dost Mohammad was able to capture him and kill him with the help of Uzbek Khan of Kunduz, who was also Yazdan's enemy. His relationship with Amir Dost Mohammad and his tragic death has been reported in detail in Chapter 5, under "Hazaras and the Rulers of Kabul."

Yazdan Khan, Sardar, Sobedar

He was a member of Oqi Jaghuri tribe and was born in Sang-e Masha, Jaghuri Region. He later migrated to British India where he was enlisted in the Hazara Pioneers. After his retirement from the army, he devoted his entire life to service of the Hazara people. For the past half a century, Sardar Yazdan Khan and his three sons dominated Hazara politics in Quetta. He represented his people in all political affairs and was affectionately known as Khan-e Kalo (the great Khan). In consideration of his service to the Hazaras a city street and a high school in Quetta have been named after him. After a long illness he died in the 1960's.

Yosuf Beg

A Hazara folk hero from the region of Shahristan, he could not tolerate the abuse of the Afghan nomads and the oppressive action of the Afghan officials stationed in Hazarajat. As there was no government channel available for him to voice his protest, he took the

matter into his own hands and took up arms against the Afghan government. The government branded him a bandit (Yaghi), which forced him to take refuge in the mountains. He avoided capture for nineteen years, but was finally arrested by Abdullah Khan Wardak, the Hakim of Dai Zangi. He was taken to Kabul, where Prime Minister Hashim Khan ordered his execution.

Addendum

Much of the research for this book was completed in 1977 and publication was scheduled for 1978. However, due to unforseen delays, this author was unable to publish this book untill now. Several times throughout this book, the phrases "currently", "present time" and the "present government" have been used. These refer to the years 1973-1978 and to the regime of President Daud Khan.

After the Communist Coup and the Russian Invasion in April 1978, significant changes occurred in the political and social systems of Afghanistan. These changes directly and indirectly affected the Hazaras and Hazarajat. New problems and challenges have surfaced since the Russian Invasion. Along with these problems a new breed of Hazara politicians, composed of religious and well educated intellectuals, also came upon the scene.

At present it is not possible for this author to discuss in detail the events in Afghanistan in general and Hazarajat in particular, which occurred after the Communist Invasion. However, he felt a need to discuss very briefly the important events which have touched the lives of Hazaras and have changed the political scene of Hazarajat. Much of this information can be found in Chapter 5, "Hazaras and the Rulers of Kabul" and in the Appendix, "Who's Who Among Hazaras." Significant references to the Communist Invasion from Hazara's point of view, can also be found throughout this book.

Bibliography

Abul Fazl, Allami. The Ain-i Akbari. Trans. from original Persian by H.S. Jarret. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, Calcutta, 1891.

Adamec, L.W. Historical and political who's who of Afghanistan. Akademische Druck-u Verlagsanstalt, Graz, 1975.

______________. Historical and Political Gazetteer of Afghanistan, Vol. 3. Herat and Northwestern Afghanistan. Akademische Druck-u Verlagsanstalt, Graz, 1975.

Afghan Resistance. The politics of survival. Ed. by G. M. Farr and J. Merriam. Westview Press, Boulder, Colo. 1987.

Afghanistan, a country study. Ed. by R.F. Nyrop and D.M. Seekins. American University Press, Washington D.C., 1986.

Afghanistan--Annual statistical report of the Medical Assistance Program for 1971-1972. Royal Ministry of Public Health, Kabul.

Agresti, H. Rock drawings in Afghanistan. Ed. by Henry Field. Occasional Paper No. 14. Field Research Projects, Miami, 1970.

Ahmad, N.D. The Survival of Afghanistan. People's Publishing House, Lahore, 1973.

Al-Haravi, Sayf ibn Mohammad ibn Yaqub. The Tarikh Nama-i Herat. Ed. with Intro. by Mohammad Zubayr-as-Siddiqi. Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1944.

Al-Hilli, Hasan B. Yusuf B., Ali Ibnul-Mutahhar. Al-Babu L-Hadi Ashar: A treatise on the principles of Shi-ite theology. Translated from Arabic by W. McE. Miller. Luzoc, London, 1958.

Allan, R. H. Report on Hazarajat trip. July 20-29, 1963. Unpublished manuscript. R.R. Nathan Associates, Inc., Kabul, 1963.

Allport, G.W. The Nature of Prejudice. Addison-Wesley Publishing Co. Cambridge, Mass., 1954.

Amin, H. and Schliz, G.B. A geography of Afghanistan. Center for Afghanistan Studies, Univ. of Nebraska, Omaha, 1976.

Amir. Amir Ali, Du-Baiti, Zulfiqar. October 1977: 32.

Amir Ali. The Spirit of Islam: A History of the evolution and ideals of Islam. Chatto and Windus, London (1890), 1974.

Amstutz, B. J. Afghanistan: The first five years of Soviet occupation. National Defense University Press, Washington, D.C., 1986.

Arrende, H. On revolution. Viking Press, New York, 1963.

Arfa, H. The Kurds: A historical and political study. Oxford Univ. Press, London, 1966.

Aristov, N.A. Ob Afghanistane i ego Naselenii. St. Petersberg, 1898.

Associated Press/Stockton Record, February 1, 1980; February 29, 1980; February 1, 1981.

Babar-Nama (Memories of Babar). Trans. by A.S. Beveridge from the original Turki text. 2 vols. Oriental Books Reprint Corp., Delhi, 1922.

Bacon, E.E. The Hazara Mongols of Afghanistan: A study in the social organization. Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Calif., Berkeley, 1951.

______________. The inquiry into the history of the Hazara Mongols of Afghanistan. Southwestern Jr. Anthropology. 7:230-247, 1951.

______________. Obok: A study of the social structure in Eurasia. Werner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research Inc., New York, 1958.

______________. Review of Schurmann's book, "The Mongols of Afghanistan." In: Central Asiatic Jr. 8:62-67. The Hague, 1963.

Badshah Hussain, A.F. Shiah Islam. Moslem World, 31:185-192, 1941.

Barthold, W. Historic-geographical survey of Iran. Trans. from Russian into Persian by H. Servadver. Ittihadia, Tehran, 1930.

______________. Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion. 3rd ed. Luzoc, London, 1968.

Bellew, H.W. Journal of political mission to Afghanistan in 1857 under Major (now Colonel) Lumsden; with an account of the country and people... Smith and Elder & Co., London, 1862.

______________. The races of Afghanistan, being a brief account of the principal nations inhabiting that country. Thacker, Sprink & Co., Calcutta, 1880.

______________. An inquiry into the ethnography of Afghanistan. Prepared for and presented to the 9th International Congress of Orientalists. London, 1891. Graz, 1973.

Bivar, A.D.H. The inscription of Uruzgan. Jr. Royal Asiatic Soc. of Gr. Br. and Ireland, 86: 112-18, 1954.

______________. The hephthalite inscriptions of Uruzgan. Afghanistan: 8:1-4, 1953.

______________. Petroglyphs and Buddhist remains of Jaghuri District, Afghanistan. In: C.E. Bosworth's Iran and Islam, pp. 79-89. Edinburgh Univ. Press, Edinburgh, 1971.

Bol'Shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia. Trans. of the third edition in English. Macmillan, Inc., New York, 1973.

Boyle, J.A. The Cambridge history of Iran: The Saljuq and Mongol periods. Vol. 5. Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1968.

Broadfoot, J.S. Report on parts of the Ghilzi country and on some of the tribes in the neighborhood of Ghazni; and on the route from Ghazni to Dera Ismail Khan by the Ghwalari Pass. Royal Geog. Soc. Suppl. Papers, 1(3): 341-400. John Murray, London, 1885.

Brown, E.G. A history of Persian literature under Tartar dominion: A.D. 1265-1502. 4 vols. Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1920.

Banbury, N.L. St. Pierre: A brief history of the Hazara Pioneers (Indian Army): 1904-33. Unpublished manuscript. Chelsea, England, 1949.

Burnes, A. Travels into Bokhara, together with a narrative of a voyage on the Indus. 3 vols. Oxford Univ. Press. Karachi (1834), 1973.

______________. Cabool: A personal narrative of a journey to, and residence in that city in the years 1836, 1837, 1838. Second Ed. John Murray, London, 1843.

Buscher, H. Die industrearbeiter in Afghanistan. Eine studie zur gesellshaftspolitischen problematik sozial schwacher Bevolkerungs-schichten in Entwicklungslandern. Vol. 1. Afghanistan Series. Verlog Anton Hain, 1969.

Canfield, R. Hazara integration into the Afghan nation. Some changing relations between Hazaras and Afghan officials. Asia Society's Afghanistan Council, Occasional Paper No. 3. New York, 1973.

______________. Faction and conversion in a plural society: Religious alignments in the Hindu Kush. Univ. of Michigan Press. Ann Arbor, 1973.

Caspani, E. and Cagnacci, E. Afghanistan: Crocevia Dell-Asia. 2nd Ed. Antonio Vallardi, Milano, Italy, 1951

Cervin, V. Problems in the integration of the Afghan nation. Middle East Jr. 6:400-416, 1952.

Chaliand, G. Report from Afghanistan. Trans. by T. Jacoby. The Viking Press, New York, 1982.

Claus, B.; Kirchhof, K.; Lindaues, G.; Mohr, W.; and Tratzki, W. Kommunikation immdienste der Verbreitung neuer Ideen und Prakliken untersucht am Beispiel Afghanistan. Deutsches Institut Fur Entwicklungspolitik Gemeinnutzige Gesellschaft, Berlin, 1966.

Cooke, J.E. The Federalist. No. 51. Wesleyan Univ. Press, Middleton, Conn., 1961.

Conolly, A. Journey to the north of India, overland from England, through Russia, Persia and Afghanistan. 2 vols. Richard Bentley, London, 1834.

Cressey, G.B. Crossroads, land and life in South-West Asia. J.B. Lippincott Company, Chicago, 1960.

Daniels, R. and Kitano, H.H.L. American racism: Exploration of the nature of prejudice. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliff, NJ, 1970.

Daudpota, U.M. A brief history of Mut'a. Jr. Royal Asiatic Soc. (Bombay Branch), N.S. 8:79-85, 1932.

Davydov, A.D. Sel'skaya obshcina u Khazareytsev tsentral-nogo Afghanistan, Kratkiya Soobshcheniya Instituta N.A., No. 77, Moscow, 1964). A resume appeared in Central Asian Rev. 14:32-44, 1966.

Debets, G.F. Physical anthropology of Afghanistan: I-II. Trans. by E.V. Prostov, Ed. by Henry Field, Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1970.

D'Ohsson, C. Baron. Histoire des Mongols depuis Tchinguiz Khan jusqua Timour Beg ou Tamerlan. 4 vols. The Hauge and Amsterdam, 1834-35.

Dianous, H.J.De. Hazaras et Mongols en Afghanistan. Orient, 19:91-100; 10:91-113.

Donaldson, D.M. The Shi-ite religion: A history of Islam in Persia and Irak. Luzak, London, 1933.

Dulling, G.K. The Hazaragi dialect of Afghan Persian: A preliminary study. Central Asian monograph No. 1. The Central Asian Res. Center, London, 1973.

Dupree, L. The changing character of south-central Afghan villages. Human Organization, 14(4):26-29, 1956.

______________. Tribalism, regionalism, and national oligarchy: Afghanistan. In K.H. Silvert (Ed.) Expectant people: Nationalism and development. Random House, New York, 1963.

______________. The political uses of religion: Afghanistan. In K.H. Silvert (Ed.) Expectant people: Nationalism and modernization. American Universities Field Staff, Inc., New York, 1967.

______________. Afghanistan, Princeton Univ. Press, Princeton, NJ, 1973.

______________. & Linette, A. Afghanistan in the 1970's. Praeger Publishers, Inc., New York, 1974.

______________. Personal Communication, 1976.

Dupree, N.H. An historical guide to Afghanistan. Afghan Tourist Organization, Kabul, 1971.

Eberhard, W. Afghanistan's young elite. Asian Survey, 1(12):3-22, 1961.

Eckmann, J. Chagatay manual: Uralic and Altaic series. Vol. 60. Indiana Univ. Press, Bloomington, Indiana, 1966.

Efimov, V.A. Iazyk Afganskihk Khazara. Iakauvlongskii dialikt. Institute of Asian People, Moscow, 1965.

Elias, N. (ed.) Tarikh-i-Rashidi: Being a history of the Moghuls of Central Asia. Trans. by E.D. Rose, written by Mirza Mohammad Haider (1895). Curzan Press, London, 1972.

Elkins, S.M. Slavery: A problem in American Institutional and Intellectual life. 4th ed., 1967. Univ. of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1959.

Elphinstone, M. An account of the kingdom of Caubul and its dependencies, in Persia, Tartay, and India. 2 vols. Schulz and Co., London, 1842.

Encyclopedia Britanica. Univ. of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1968, 1974.

Encyclopedia of Islam. 3 vols. E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1960.

Faiz Mohammad. Siraj-al-Tawarikh. 3 vol. Matba'a Harofi. Kabul. 1333 A.H. (1955 A.D.).

Fani, Mohsin. Dabistan-ul-Madhahib. Trans. from Persian by D. Shea and A. Troyer. M. Walter Dunn, Washington & London, 1901

Fischer, L. Afghanistan, a geo-medical monograph. Trans. by J.A. and I.F. Hellen. Spring-Verlag, Berlin, 1968.

Ferdinand, K. Preliminary notes on Hazara culture. Hist. Filos. Medd. Dan. Vid. Selsk, 37(5):1-51, Copenhagen, 1959.

______________. Nomadic expansion and commerce in Central Afghanistan. A sketch of some modern trends. Folk. 4:123-159, 1962.

______________. Ethnographical notes on Chahar Aimak, Hazara, and Moghol. Acta Orientalia. 28:175-201, 1964.

______________. Personal Communication, 1976.

Ferrier, J.P. Caravan journeys and wanderings in Persia, Afghanistan Turkistan, and Beloochistan; with historical notes of the countries lying between Russia and India. Trans. from French by W. Jesse. John Murray, London, 1856.

Fletcher, A. Afghanistan. Highway of conquest. Cornell Univ. Press, Ithaca, NY, 1965.

Fox, E.F. Travels in Afghanistan 1937-38. Macmillen, New York, 1945.

Fraser-Tytler, W.K. Afghanistan: A study of political developments in central and southern Asia. 3rd ed. Oxford Univ. Press, London, 1967.

Freeman-Grenville, G.S.P. The Muslim and Christian calendars, being tables for the conversion of Muslim and Christian dates from the Hijra to the year A.D. 2000. Oxford Univ. Press, London, 1963

Frischaver, W. The Aga Khans. Hawthorn Books, Inc., New York, 1971.

Frohlich, D. Nationalismus und nationalistaat in Entwicklunslandern, Probleme der integration ethnischer gruppen in Afghanistan. Verlag Anton Hain, 1970.

Fyzee, A.A.A. The Ismaili law of Mut'a. Jr. Royal Asiatic Soc. (Bombay Branch), N.S. 8:85-89, 1932.

Gazatteer of Afghanistan, Part 4, Kabul. Superintendent of Government Printing, Govt. of India, Calcutta, India, 1910.

General Atlas of Afghanistan, Sahab Geogrpahic and Drafting Institute, Tehran, N.D.

Gharjistani, Mohammad Issa, Hamasa-e Hazara. A publication of Ittehadia mujahideen-e Islami Afghanistan. In Persian with no publisher or date.

Gittler, J.B. Understanding Minority Groups. John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1964.

Gray, J.A. At the court of the Amir, a narrative. R. Bentley, London, 1895.

Gregorian, V. The emergence of modern Afghanistan, policies of reform and modernization, 1880-1946. Stanford Univ. Press, Stanford, 1969.

Griffiths, J.C. Afghanistan. Pall Mall Press, London, 1967.

Griffiths, J.C. Afghanistan, key to a continent. Westview Press, Boulder, Colo, 1981.

Hackin, J. Persia and Afghanistan with the Citroen trans-Asiatic expedition. Geog. Jr. 83:353-365, London, 1917

Haig, W. The Cambridge history of India. Vol. 3, Turks and Afghans. Macmillen, New York and Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1928.

Halpern, J.M. The changing village community. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliff, NJ, 1967.

Hamdu'llah Mustawfi-e Qazwini. Tarikh-i-Guzida. Trans. by E.G. Browne. E.J. Gibb Memorial, Vol. 14, Part 2. Luzoc, London, 1913.

Hamilton, A. Afghanistan. W. Heinemann, London, 1905.

Hamilton, Lilian. A Vizier's daughter: A tale of the Hazara war. John Murray, London, 1900.

Hammond, T.T. Red flag over Afghanistan: The communist coup, the Soviet invasion, and the consequences. Westview Press, Boulder, Colo., 1984.

Harlan, J. Central Asia, personal narrative. Ed. by F.E. Ross. Luzoc, London, 1939.

Hashimi, E.F. Afghanistan's provinces, cities, villages, secondary schools and higher level institutions. General Publications No. 3, Kabul, 1970.

Hay, W.R. Band-i Amir. Geog. Jr. 89(4):348-351, London 1923.

Hayat Khan, Mohammad. Hayat-i Afghan. Trans. by H. Priestley as Afghanistan and its inhabitants. Indian Public Opinion Press, Lahore, 1874.

Holdich, T. The gates of India, being an historical narrative. Macmillan, London, 1910.

Hollister, J.N. The Shi'a of India. Luzoc, London, 1953.

Hony, H.C. A Turkish-English Dictionary. 2nd ed. Oxford Univ. Press, London, 1957.

Howorth, H.H. History of Mongols from the ninth to the 19th century, Vol. 4. The Mongols of Persia. Longmans, London, 1888.

―――――――. Chinghiz Khan and his ancestors. Reprinted from the articles published in Indian Antiquary, Vols. 9-17, in the years 1880-1888. Bombay, India.

Hudson, A.E. and Bacon, E.E. Social control and the individual in Eastern Hazara culture. In: Language, culture, and personality. L. Spier (Ed.). Sapir Memorial Publication Fund. 239-258. Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941.

Humlum, J. La geographie de l'Afghanistan. Scandinavian Univ. Books, Gylendal, Copenhagen, 1959.

Ibn Battuta. The travels of A.D. 1325-1354. Trans. from Arabic by H.A.R. Gibb, Vol. 3, 2nd Series, No. 110. Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1971.

Ibn Hawqal, Abu al-Qasim Muhammad. The oriental geography of Ebn Haukal, an Arabic Traveler of the 10th century. Trans. in English by W. Qusley. Wilson & Co., London, 1800.

Ikhtiar, Mohammad Ali. Du-Baiti. Zulfiqar, October 1977:46.

Iqbal, M. Khushhal Khan Khatak. Islamic Culture: The Hyderabad Quarterly Rev. 2:285-293, 1928.

Iraq, a country Study. Foreign Area Studies. Ed. by R.F. Nyrop. The American University Press, Washington, D.C., 1979.

Imperial Gazetteer of India, the new Edition. Charendon Press, Oxford, 1908.

Ivanov, W. The rise of the Fatimids. Oxford University Press, Calcutta, 1942.

―――――――. Notes on the ethnology of Khurasan. Geog. Jr. 67:143-158, London, 1901

Iwamura, S. Hazara-Zoko no Kigen ni Kansurn Shomondai (Problems concerning the origins of the Hazara tribes). Toyoshi Kenkyu 14(3):200-214, 1955 (in Japanese).

_______________. Identification of the Hazara tribes in Afghanistan. International Symposium on History of Eastern and Western Cultural Contacts, Commission of UNESCO, Ministry of Education, Japan, 1959.

_______________. Hunting for the Genghis Khanid Mongols in Afghanistan. Japan Quarterly, 3(2):213-215, 1956.

_______________. The Zirni manuscript: A Persian-Mongolian glossary and grammar. Kyoto Univ. Press, Kyoto, 1961.

_______________. and Schurmann, H.F. Mongolian groups in Afghanistan. In Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbu-Kagaku-Kenkyushjo, Kyoto, 1954.

Jam, Awtadola Mohammad. A sociological study of the Hazara tribes in Baluchistan--An analysis of socio-cultural change. Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Karachi, 1976.

Jarring, G. On the distribution of Turk tribes in Afghanistan. An attempt at a preliminary classification. Lund Universitats Arsskrift, N.F. Avd. 1, 35(4):1-140, 1939.

Jung, C.L. Some observations of the patterns and processes of rural-urban migration to Kabul. The Asia Society, Afghanistan Council Occasional Paper No. 2, New York, 1972.

Juvaini, Ala-ud-Din Ata-Malik. The history of the world-conqueror. Trans. from the text of Mirza Muhammad Qazvini by J.A. Boyle, 2 Vol. Manchester Univ. Press, Manchester, 1958.

Kabul Times Annual 1970.

Kakar, M.H. Afghanistan: A study in internal political developments. 1880-1896. Punjab Educational Press, Lahore, 1971.

_______________. The pacification of the Hazaras of Afghanistan. Asia Society, Afghanistan Council Occasional Paper No. 4. New York, 1973.

_______________. Asia Society, Afghanistan Council, Newsletter 3 (1): 25-29, New York, 1975.

Kessel, T. Afghanistan. Thames & Hudson, London, 1959.

Khanikoff, N. de. Memoire sur la partie Meridionale de l'Asie Centrale. Imprimerie de la Martinet, Rue Mignon, Paris, 1861.

Kohzad, A.A. Along the Koh-i Baba and Hari Rud, Part 2, Afghanistan, 6(1):1-21, 1951.

_______________. Da-Afghanistan Pakhanay Tarikh. 2 Vol. Anjman-i Tarikh-i Afghanistan, Kabul, 1334 (1956).

Konig, Rene. Afghanische Studien Herausgegeben von Unter Mitarbeit von Ledolph Fisher, Karl Jettmar, Willi Kraus und Carl Rattijens. Meisenheimam Glen, A. Hain, 1970.

Lal, Mohan. Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan. 2 Vols. Longman, Brown, Green and Longman, London, 1846.

_______________. Travels in the Panjab, Afghanistan and Turkistan to Balkh, Bokhara and Herat, and a visit to Great Britain and Germany, 1846. Reprint. 1971. Language Dept. Gov't. of Panjab, Patiala, India, 1846.

Lane-Poole, S. The Mohammadan Dynasties. Chronological and genealogical tables and historical introduction. Frederick Unger Publishing Co., New York (1893), 1965.

Lattimore, O. Nomads and Commissars: Mongolia revisited. Oxford Univ. Press, New York, 1962.

Leech, R. A vocabulary of the language of the Moghal Aimaks. Jr. Royal Asiatic Soc. Bengal, 7:785-787, Calcutta, 1838.

_______________. An account to the early Ghiljaees. Ibid., 14:306-327, Calcutta, 1845.

—————————. A supplementary account of the Hazarahs. Ibid., 14:333-340, Calcutta, 1845.

Legg, S. The Heartland. Farrar, Straus & Girous, New York, 1970.

Lessing, F.D. Mongolian-English Dictionary. University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1960.

Le Strange, G. The lands of Eastern Calaphate. Cambridge geographical series, AMS Press, New York, 1905.

Linchevsky, A. and Prozorovsky, A.V. Geographical Series. The basic principles of the distribution of the vegetation of Afghanistan. Kew Bulletin, No. 2:182-86, 1949.

Lockhart, L. The fall of the Safavi Dynasty and the Afghan occupation of Persia. Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1958.

MacDonald, D.B. Development of Muslim theology, jurisprudence and constitutional theory. Charles Scribners Sons, New York, 1926.

MacGregor, C.M. Central Asia. Part II. A contribution towards the better knowledge of the topography, resources and history of Afghanistan. 2 parts. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, Calcutta, 1871.

MacKenzie, F. The ocean and the steppe. The life and times of the Mongol conqueror Genghis Khan, 1155-1227. Vantage Press, New York, 1963.

Macmunn, G. Afghanistan: From Darius to Amanullah. G. Bell & Sons, London, 1919.

Malcolm, Sir John. The history of Persia. 2 Vol. New Edition. John Murray, London, 1829.

Maranjian, G. The distribution of A B O blood groups in Afghanistan. Amer. Jr. Physical Anthropology 10:263, 1953.

Martin, F.A. Under the absolute Amir. Harpe & Brothers, London, 1907.

Masson, C. Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan, and the Punjab, including a residence in those countries from 1826-1838. 2 vols. Richard Bentley, London, 1842.

Masson, V.M. and Romodin, V.A. Istoria Afghanistana. 2 vols. Moscow, 1964-1965.

McChesney, R.D. A review of Kakar's Afghanistan: A study in internal political developments, 1880-96. Asia Society, Afghanistan Council, Occasional Paper, Book Review, New York, 1975.

Minhaj-ud Din, Abu-Umar-i Usman. Tabakat-i Nasiri. A general history of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia, including Hindustan. Trans. by H.G. Raverty. 2 vols. Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1881.

Montgomerie, T.G. Report on the Mirza's exploration from Caubul to Kashgar. Jr. Royal Geog. Soc. 41:132-93, London, 1871.

Moorcraft, W. Trebeck, G. Travels in the Himalayan provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab, Ladakh and Kashmir, in Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz and Bokhara, etc. from 1819-1825. 2 vols. John Murray, London, 1841

Morgensteirne, G. Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan. Instituttet for Sammenlignede Kulturforskning. Series C. 1-2, Oslo. 1926.

Mulfuzat Timury or Autobiographical Memories of the Moghul Emperor Timur, written in the Jagtay Turky language. Trans. into Persian by Abu Talib Hussyny and Translated into English by Major Charles Stewart, Oriental Translation Committee. London, 1830.

Nawees, Abdullah Afghani. Afghan dictionary: Persian into Persian and Pashto. Vol. 1, 2, 3. Gov't. Printing House, Pastho Academy, Kabul, 1957, 1958.

Neamet Ullah. History of the Afghanistan. Trans. from Persian by B. Dorn, Susil Gupta. 2nd ed. (1st ed. 1829-36). London, 1965.

Newell, R.S. The politics of Afghanistan. Cornell Univ. Press, Ithaca, 1972.

Newell, N.P. and Newell, R.S. The struggle for Afghanistan. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1981.

Oliver, E.E. The Chaghatai Mughals. Jr. Asiatic Soc. Gr. Br. & Ireland, (N.S.). 20:72-128, London, 1888.

Pakistan Times. Hazaras begin demanding equal rights. Oct. 31, 1974, Lahore.

______________. Kabul ban on Pakistan radio. April 18, 1975. Lahore.

Park. M. Travels and recent discoveries in the interior districts of Africa, in the years 1796-1797. Alexander Brodie, New York, 1801.

Pehrson, R.T. The social organization of the Marri Baluch. Compiled by F. Barth. Aldine, Chicago, 1966.

Peter, Prince of Greece and Denmark. Jar built without a wheel in the Hazarajat of Central Afghanistan. Man. 131(73):52, 1954.

Petis de la Croix, M. The history of Genghizcan the Great, First emperor of the ancient Moguls and Tartars. Trans. from French by P. Aubin. J. Darby, London, 1722.

Petrushevski, I.P. Zemledelic i agrarnye othosheniia v Irane. Akademica Nauk SSSR Institute Vostokovedeniia, Leningradskoe, 1960.

Population and manpower resources in Afghanistan 1345-50 (1966/67-1971/72). Royal Afghanistan Gov't. Ministry of Planning. Kabul, March 1967.

Poullada, L.B. Problems of social development in Afghanistan. In: Current problems in Afghanistan. Princeton Univ. Press, Princeton, NJ, 1961.

______________. The Pashtun role in the Afghan political system. Asia Society, Afghanistan Council Occasional Paper No. 1, New York, 1970.

Price, D. Chronological retrospect, or memories of the principal events of Mohomedan history from the death of Arabian legislator, to the accession of the Emperor Akbar, and establishment of the Moghul empire in Hindustan. 3 Vols. J. Booth, London, 1821.

Qamus-i Jughrafia-Yi Afghanistan. Anjoman-i Aryana Da'erat al-Maaref, Kabul. 4 vols. 1956-60.

Rashid-al Din. Fazlullah, Tabib. Jami-al Tawarikh. 3 Vol. ed. By Bahman Karimi, Shirkat-e Nasabi-ye Haji Mohammad Husayn Iqbal-Shuraka, Tehran, 1338 (1959).

Raverty, H.G. Notes on Afghanistan and parts of Baluchistan, geographical, ethnographical, and historical, extracted from the writings of little known Afghan and Tajiks historians, geographers and genealogists and from personal observations. Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1888.

Riazi, Mohammad Yosuf. Kulliyat-i Riazi. Mashhad, 1906.

Sachs, M.Y. World Encyclopedia of the nations. Vol. 4. Asia & Australia. 4th ed. Harper & Row, New York, 1971.

Sakata, L.H. Music of the Hazarajat. M.A. Thesis, University of Washington, Seattle, 1968.

Sakata, L.H. Music in the mind: The concepts of music and musician in Afghanistan. The Kent State University Press, 1983.

Sakata, T. and Sakata, L. Folk music of Afghanistan. 2 vols. Lyrichord Discs Inc., New York, 1967 (Phonorecord).

Shah, Mir Hussain. Is Hazara an old word. Afghanistan, 17 (4):32-38, 1962.

Schurmann, H.F. The Mongols of Afghanistan: An ethnography of the Mongols and related people of Afghanistan. Mouton S-Gravenhage, 1961.

Secret and political letters and enclosures received in London from India. Unpublished manuscript, Vols. 25-91. London, 1880-1901.

Shahristani, S. Ali Akbar. Adab, 21(3):45-104, 1973 (Kabul University Publication).

Snesarev, A.E. Afghanistan. Moscow, 1921.

Singh, G. Ahmed Shah Durrani. Asia Publishing House, London, 1959.

Smith, H.H.; Bernier, D.W.; Bunce, F.M.; Fintz, F.C.; Shinn, R.S. Area handbook for Afghanistan. 4th ed. American Univ. Press, Washington, D.C., 1973.

Statistical pocketbook of Afghanistan, 1350, (1971-72). Dept. of Statistics, Ministry of Planning, Kabul, 1972.

Sterling, E. Some consideration on the political state of the intermediate countries between Persia and India; with reference to the project of Russia marching an army through them. Calcutta Rev. 15:1-35, 1851.

Subhan, Abdus. Mutazilite view on beatific vision. Islamic Culture, 15:422-428, 1941.

Sulaiman Khan. Tarikhcha wa Khatirat-e Qowm-e Hazara der Pakistan. Jang Printing Press, Quetta, 1971.

Sultan Mahomed. The life of Abdul Rahman, Amir of Afghanistan. 2 vols. John Murray, London, 1900.

Sun, W.K. The secret history of the Mongol Dynasty. Published Ph.D. thesis. Aligarh Muslim Univ., Aligarh, India, 1957.

Sykes, P. A history of Afghanistan. 2 vols. Macmillen, London, 1940.

Tate, G.P. The kingdom of Afghanistan: A historical sketch. D.K. Publishing House, Delhi, 1973.

Thesiger, W. The Hazaras of Central Afghanistan. Geogr. Jr. 121:312-319, 1955.

__________. The Hazarajat of Afghanistan. Geogr. Mag. 29:87-95, 1956.

Thornton, E. A gazetteer of the countries adjacent to India on the northwest; including Sinde, Afghanistan, Beloochistan, the Punjab, and the neighbouring states. 2 vols. Wm. H. Allen & Co., London, 1844.

Times, The London. August 23, 1891; September 16, 1891; August 2, 1892, September 1, 1892; October 3, 1892; October 6, 1892; May 6, 1893; June 2, 1893; June 26, 1893; September 14, 1893.

Timurkhanov, L. Khazareistsy: Ocherki novoi istorii. Nauka, Glavnaia Redaktsiia Vostochnoi Literatury, Moscow, 1972.

Todd, Major. Report of a journey from Herat to Simla, via Candahar, Cabool, and the Punjab, undertaken in the year 1838. Jr. Asiatic Soc. Bengal, 13:339-360, 1844.

Trinklel, E. Through the heart of Afghanistan. Faber & Guoyer, London, 1928.

Turkman, Iskandar Beg. Tarikh-e Alimara-ye Abbasi. 2 vols. Chapkhana Moswai, Tehran. 1956.

Vanbery, A. Travels in Central Asia: Being the account of a journey from Tehran across the Turkoman desert on the eastern shore of the Caspian to Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarcand. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1865.

______________. Sketches of Central Asia: Additional chapters on my travels, adventures and on the ethonology of Central Asia. John Murray, London, 1868

Van den Berghe, P.L. Race and racism: A comparative perspective. John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1967.

Vigne, G.T. A personal narrative of a visit to Ghuzni, Kabul and Afghanistan, and of residence at the court of Dost Mohamad: With notices of Ranjit Singh, Khiva, and the Russian expedition. Whittaker, London, 1840.

Vladimirtsov, B. Ya. The life of Chingis Khan. Trans. from Russian by D.S. Mirsky. G. Routledge & Sons, London, 1930.

______________. Le regime social des Mongols: Le Feodalisme Nomade. Trans. from Russian by M. Carsow. Librarie d'Amierque et d'Orient, Adrien-Maisonneuve, Paris, 1948.

Vreeland, H.H. Mongol Community and kinship structure. Human Relations Area Files, New Haven, Conn., 1957.

Weston, C. Afghanistan. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1962.

Wheeler, S. The Ameer Abdur Rahman. Frederich Warner & Co., New York, 1895.

Wilber, D.N. In Afghanistan--Survey of World Culture. HRAF Press, New Haven, Conn., 1962.

Wolfe, N.H. The valley of Bamiyan. Afghan Tourist Organization, Kabul, 1963.

Wood, J. A journey to the source of the river Oxus. John Murray, London, 1872.

Wood-Walker, R.B.; Smith, H.M.; and Clarke, V.L. The blood groups of the Timurid and related tribes in Afghanistan. Am. Jr. Physical Anthropology, 27:195-204, 1970.

Yate, A.C. England and Russia face to face in Asia: Travels with the Afghan Boundary Commission. W. Blackwood, London, 1887.

Yate, C.E. Khurasan and Sistan. W. Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh & London, 1890.

Yule, H. Marco Polo. The book of Ser. Trans. and ed. by John Murray. London, 1903.

Zafarnama, by Sharaf-al-Din, Ali, Yazdi. Ed. by Maulana Mohammad Ilahabadi, 2 Vol. Calcutta, 1887-1888.

Index

- A -

Abbsaids 46, 240
Abdali (see also Durrani) 17, 52, 162
Abdur Rahman, Amir 65, 131, 141, 172, 182, 235, 246, 250, 261, 272, 343, 344, 352, 364, 368, 373
Abghari 259, 391
Abu Bakr, First Caliph 133-134
Abu Sa'id 9, 124-125
Achakzai 142, 210
Afghan (see also Pashtun, Pakhtun, Aughan, Pathan) 17, 20, 47, 66-67, 81, 138, 139, 175, 176, 202, 211, 216, 217, 230-234, 245, 272, 342, 355, 357, 368, 369, 376, 379
Afghan Boundary Commission 387
Afghan Parliament (see also Ulusi Jirga, Wolosi Jirgah, and Loya Jirga) 371, 372, 380, 390, 393
Afghanistan 4, 6, 11, 22, 23, 46, 47, 48, 59, 65, 67, 81, 107, 182, 202, 232, 234, 238, 253, 348, 355, 356, 360, 361, 365, 367, 371, 372
Afrasiab 19
Africa 240, 248, 249
Afshar, Nadir Shah (see also Nadir Shah) 158, 162, 258
Agha Khan, Karim 137
Agha Khan, The Great 137
Ahl-e Bait 135, 137, 141
Ahmad Ali, General (see also Toran Janral) 364, 380
Ahmad Shah Sadozai (see also Ahmad Shah Abdali, Durrani) 17, 158, 163
Aimaq (see also Aimak) 40, 48, 52, 344
Ajizak 147
Ajmir 47
Akhbari, School 135
Akhzarat (see also Aksarat) 216, 344
Alexander, the Great 2, 45
Ali Khail 190, 191, 195, 206, 209
Ali, First Imam 24, 46, 121, 122, 123, 126, 133, 146, 205
Allan 348, 375

Almaligh 6
Amanullah Khan, Amir 173, 260
Anatolia 47
Amir Khusro 25
Amir Naoruz (see also Nawruz) 8, 121
Amir Timur (see also Tamerlane, Timarlang) 4, 7, 10, 14, 16, 121, 158, 159
Arab Emirates 261
Arab Missionaries (see also Sayeds) 18, 83, 88
Arbab 141, 274, 276, 281, 324
Arghandab 19, 38, 162
Arghun Khan 8, 39, 122
Ashrao Kotal 56
Ashtarlai 70, 141, 228, 329
Asia, Central 5, 89, 118, 238, 240, 242, 244, 253, 303, 343
Asqal (see also Apsaql) 16, 276
Azarbijan 10
Azim Beg, Mir 192-194, 195, 198, 215, 216, 217, 220, 381

- B -

Ba'ath Party 260
Babar, Zahir-ud-Din 11, 14, 21, 81, 120, 160
Bacon 3, 26, 36, 37, 40, 65, 82, 120 322
Badakhshan 7, 10, 11, 48, 159, 243
Badghis 13, 19, 125, 258
Badshah Hussain 131
Baghdad 8, 10, 46, 121-122, 260, 268
Bakr, Hassan, al, 260
Balkh (see also Bactria) 6, 13, 14, 15, 25, 46, 81, 171, 243
Balkhi 389
Balti 26, 28, 268
Baltistan 28, 268
Baluch (see also Marri Baluch) 89, 253, 356, 376
Baluchistan 49, 253, 262, 264-265
Bamian (see also Bamiyan, Bameean) 13, 17, 31, 53, 68, 70, 77, 158, 163, 166, 174, 177, 178, 196-197, 212, 223, 230, 271, 348
Band-e Amir 56, 73, 144, 228
Barackzai 164
Barbar Shah 18, 19, 46, 74
Barbari (see also Khawari) 40, 258, 259, 391
Beheshti 177, 179, 381, 388
Beirut 261
Belgium 266
Bellew 2, 5, 8, 23, 31, 64
Bengal 342
Besud (see also Behsud, Bisud) 16, 34, 70, 158, 223, 224, 225, 230, 251, 265, 274, 303, 348, 349, 351, 371,
Bobash 38, 213, 216, 217, 230, 251
Bokhara 10, 11, 46, 172, 240, 243, 253
Bolan Pass 11
British (see also English) 164, 183, 194, 228, 234, 246, 261, 264, 266
British India (see also Hindustan) 251, 253, 257, 263, 360, 366
Buddha 74
Buddhist 5, 46, 74, 82
Buniad Khan 187, 188
Buscher 369

- C -

Caliphs 133-134, 137
Calaphate 8, 122, 133
Calendar, Animal 154
Calendar, Lunar 154
Calendar, Solar 154
Canfield, R. 175, 271, 284

Chaghatai, Prince 5, 6, 10
Chaghataian 6, 7, 10, 11, 13, 15, 21, 22, 27, 82
Chahar Dasta 37, 190
Chahar Yar 133
Chahar-Baiti 102, 104
Chaman 210
Chandiwal 178, 233, 347
China 180
Chapao 170
Charkhi (see also Ghulam Nabi Charkhi and Ghulam Haider Charkhi) 175, 379
Chengiz Khan 2-3, 5, 6, 12, 14-15, 19, 27, 28, 29, 31, 77, 116-117, 121, 317, 324, 325
Chitral 238, 242
Cholera 215
Chora 39, 41, 211, 215
Claus 370
Communist Coup 176, 365, 389
Communist Party 372
Communist Politburo 176, 180

- D -

Dai Chopan 18, 34, 225, 323
Dai Khitai 35, 36
Dai Kundi 16, 36, 40, 98, 119, 160, 224, 225, 230, 240, 251, 274, 329, 344, 350, 371
Dai Mirdad 36, 71
Dai Zangi 16, 36, 40, 99, 151, 217, 224, 225, 229, 230, 251, 274, 329, 335, 343, 350, 371
Damascus 143
Dombura 102
Darius, I. 45
Darogha 12, 274
Daulat Beg 16, 120, 161, 328
Daya Wa Chopan 71
Death Marches 246, 250
Denmark 266
Discrimination 358-360, 365, 368, 369, 370, 371, 373
Divan Naranjan Das 252
D'Ohsson 5, 122
Dost Mohammad, Amir 142, 164-170, 244, 351
Dowry 313, 316
Du-Baiti 101-102
Dubai 266
Dulling 81, 87, 89, 92, 94, 98
Dupree 140, 352, 373,
Durrani (see also Achackzai) 21, 48, 89, 131, 163, 183, 210, 211, 229, 330, 360
Dianous 66, 67, 125

- E -

Efimov 84, 89, 97
Eid-e Qurbo 145
Eid-e Ramzo 145
Elias 5, 28, 83
Elphinstone 32, 50, 136, 271, 376
Etemadi 380
Euphrates 122
Europe 240, 266, 370
Exorcism 150

- F -

Faisal II 260
Faiz Mohammad Katib 205, 246, 382
Farhad Khan 196, 206, 209, 211, 214, 217, 219, 231, 250
Ferdinand 26, 40, 52, 97, 152, 155, 278, 329
Fifth Government 205, 213
Firoz Kohi 48, 253, 258
Fortune Teller 150
Frohlich 183, 358, 369, 372

- G -

Gao Sawar 384-385
Gardez (see also Girdiz) 160, 371
Germany 266
Gharjistani 389
Ghazal 99-100
Ghazan Khan 8, 29, 122-125
Ghaznavid 14, 46, 81
Ghazni 4, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 21, 68, 218, 234, 348
Ghilzai (see also Nomad) 21, 48, 131, 162, 182, 183, 188, 191, 206, 211, 229
Ghizab (see also Ghiz-ao) 52, 71, 197, 209, 215, 217, 224, 230
Ghor (see also Ghaur, Ghour) 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 15, 46, 53, 68, 177, 179
Ghorband 39
Ghulam Nabi Khater 379
Ghurid (see also Ghorid) 14, 17, 47, 82
Ghorkha (see also Nepalese) 4-5, 26, 27
Greek Kingdom (see also Bactria) 45

- H -

Habibullah, Amir 172, 219, 233, 257, 364
Habibullah, Bacha-e Saqow 174, 175, 357
Hafizullah, Amin 178, 365
Haj 143
Hamilton, Lilian 150, 246, 247, 272
Hari Rud 60, 330
Harlan 25, 65, 128, 138, 244, 303
Hassanyar 381
Hassan Juri 124
Hazarajat, (see Subject Headings in the Table of Contents)
Hazaras, (see Subject Headings in the Table of Contents)
Hazaragi 16, 64, 80, 84
Hazaragi Broadcasting 374
Helmand (see also Hilmand) 19, 37, 60, 227
Helmand Valley Authority (HVA) 370
Herat (see also Hirat) 4, 10, 11, 124-125, 161, 223, 238, 258
Hilli, al, Allama 123-124, 132
Hindu 198, 241, 253, 373
Hindu Kush 6, 17, 21, 27, 47
Hindu Shahi, King 46, 82
Hulaku Khan (see also Haluku Khan) 3-4, 6, 8, 11, 47, 121-122
Hussain, Third Imam 122, 124, 141, 142, 144, 233

- I -

Ibn Batuta 123, 125
Ibn Hawqal 125
Ilkhanid 10, 11, 13, 21, 22, 27, 37, 83, 120, 123, 124, 125
Ilkhans 3, 8, 11, 16, 21, 125
Imam Raza 126, 258, 259
Imammat 133-134
India (see also Hindustan) 3, 6, 13, 18, 25, 27, 172, 234, 253, 263, 265, 342
Indo-Pakistan 83, 366
Indus, River 3, 10, 16, 27, 159
Iran (see also Persia) 3, 8, 48, 127, 130, 137, 143, 177, 180, 251, 257, 259, 261, 266, 391
Iraq 127, 129, 259, 260, 261, 389
Islam 83, 115, 119, 126, 133, 144, 201, 226, 307, 355
Ismaili (see also Sevener) 115-116, 129, 137
Iwamura 18, 19, 97, 141, 316, 329, 337

- J -

Ja'far al-Sadiq, Sixth Imam 137, 139
Jaburi Ansar 97
Jaghatu 16, 37
Jaghori (see also Jaghuri) 15, 37, 76, 99, 222, 276, 278, 344
Jagran 381, 388
Jalalabad 173, 202, 220, 265
Jamshid Khan 190, 199
Janat al-Baqia 130
Japanese 368
Jehad (see also Holy War) 115, 131, 239, 241
Jews 115, 116, 134
Jung 66, 349
Juvaini 15, 82, 46

- K -

Kabul (see also Cabul, Caubool) 10, 50, 80, 82, 130, 159, 164, 176, 238, 243, 244, 245, 303, 348, 349, 357, 361, 371
Kabul, River 61
Kabul, University 366, 380
Kafir 115, 131, 133, 202, 211, 254, 255
Kahmard (see also Kamard) 167, 168, 343
Kakar Tribe 48, 360
Kakar, Haji Khan 166-167, 170-171, 188
Kakar, Hassan 182, 183, 214, 229
Kakaristan (see also Zhob) 265
Kala-e Nao Hazara (see also Qala-e Nao Hazara) 116, 258
Karachi 209, 263
Karbala 122, 127, 129, 143, 259
Karbalai 143, 212, 222, 223, 265
Karez 52, 170, 332
Karmal, Babrak 178-180, 385
Karzar 165, 170
Karti-Sakhi 389
Kashghar 11, 159
Kazakh 5
Keshtmand, Karima 385
Keshtmand, Sultan Ali 176, 178, 180, 394, 395
Khad 179
Khak-e Chopan 20, 35
Khalaj Turks 14, 82
Khalili, Khalilullah 260
Khalkha, Mongols 139
Khalq 177, 179
Khatak, Kushhal Khan 376
Khidir (see also Khizir) 71, 98, 211, 231
Khinjan 39, 51, 196
Khoja Ali Muayid 124, 125
Khokand 240
Khomeini 386
Khost 174, 208, 265
Khurasan 3, 6, 8-9, 10, 12, 13, 20, 47, 121, 124, 161, 240, 258
Khwarzam Shah 27, 47
Kimsan 210, 218, 230
Kirghiz 5
Koh-e Baba 26, 55-56, 170, 211, 218, 219
Kohistan 19, 171, 218
Kohzad 56, 78
Kublai Khan (see also Qublai Khan) 7, 118
Kurdistan 268
Kuro-Bistan (see also wife-lending) 137-139
Kurt Dynasty 10, 16, 83, 124
Kushan 46, 47, 82

- L -

La'li 391
Laghman 371
Lal wa Sar Jangal 66, 73, 228
Lama 121, 123
League of Nations 360
Leech 20, 36, 38, 49, 376
Leprosy 301
Logar 61, 330
Lullaby 108-109

- M -

Madar-e All 149-150
Madina 130-131, 136, 143
Mahdi 124, 132, 134
Mahmud, Ghaznavi 47
Maidan 52, 57, 225
Maimana 164, 172, 215, 357
Majlisi 131, 135
Makhta 106
Makran 6
Malik 83, 274, 324, 328, 371
Malistan 38, 56, 72, 188, 198, 206, 225, 232, 345, 351
Mangu Khan (see also Manku Khan) 4, 8
Maqsoudi 180, 379
Mashhad 122, 126, 127, 143, 234, 259, 267, 348
Maska 226, 317
Masson 49, 165, 166, 168
Mazar-e Sharif (see also Mazar-e Sakhi) 48, 67, 144, 195
Mazendaran 9, 125
Mecca 129, 130, 136, 143, 146
Medicine 301-302
Mesopotamia (see also Iraq) 267-268
Migration 327, 346-349, 360
Mihiraluka Dynasty 46, 75
Mir Adina 206 215, 223, 226 ,231
Mir Mohib 164, 242
Mohammad Daud Khan (see also Sardar Daud) 176, 365, 371, 380
Mohammad Ishaq Khan, Sardar 389
Mohammad Issa Khan, Sardar 390
Mohammad Khwaja 37, 163, 164, 230
Mohammad Musa Khan 263, 390
Mohammad Nadir Shah 175, 260, 372, 379
Mohammad Zahir Shah 175, 260, 353, 365, 371, 379
Mohammad, The Prophet 116, 124, 132, 140, 201, 239, 324
Mohan Lal 5, 165, 166
Mohmand 174, 206, 267
Mohsini 180, 387
Mongol (see also Mughal) 3-5, 8, 10, 13-16, 19-22, 81, 116-118, 126, 137, 154
Moqur (see also Mukor, Mookoor) 49, 52, 62, 47
Moscow 176
Muawiya 240
Mubaligh 389
Mufti 224, 232
Mughal Dynasty of India 161
Muharram 127, 140, 141, 145, 233
Mujahideen, Pashtun, 177
Mujtahid 130, 134, 172, 233
Mulla 127, 137, 138, 140, 148-150, 201, 232, 233, 241, 252, 289, 302, 303, 311, 316, 373
Multan 342
Murad Beg of Kunduz 65, 171, 242
Muslim League 390, 392
Mut'a (see also Sigha) 135-139, 317

- N -

Nadir Ali, Senator 176, 365, 392
Naitaqe 383
Najaf 123, 127, 130, 143, 259
Najibullah, Dr. 180
Nasir Ali, Haji 392
Nepal 4-5, 26
Newell 358
Nikudari 3-4, 8, 11, 14, 27, 160
Nikudarian 3, 8, 22
Nishapur (see also Nishaboor) 125, 259
Naoroze 147
Nomads (see also Koochis) 48, 105, 173, 202, 206, 253, 303, 329, 330, 332, 336, 344, 345-346, 349, 353, 363, 370
Norway 261, 266
Nuqtadan 382
Nuristan (see also Kafiristan) 177, 254, 356

- O -

Obok (see also Oboq) 22, 322
Ogotai 6, 8, 13
Oleographs 143
Omar, Second Caliph (see also Umar), 130, 133, 134, 137
Osman, Third Caliph 132, 133, 134
Oxus (see also Amu) 5, 6, 16, 121, 162, 243

- P -

Paghman Range 51
Pakhtunistan (see also Pashtunistan) 176, 355
Pakistan 28, 32, 48, 67, 177, 261, 345, 364, 382
Panjab (see also Panjao) 53, 72, 216, 228
Panjshiri 180
Panjtan (see also Ahl-e Bait) 140, 205
Parachinar 130, 141, 232, 263-264
Paropamisus 45, 48
Parcham 178
Pashto (see also Pakhto, Pushto) 27, 81, 87, 168, 355, 376-377
Payam-e Emroz 372, 380
Payam-e Waydan 379
Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (see also PDPA) 179
Persia 8, 22, 27, 83, 118, 119, 125, 161, 258
Persian 27, 45, 80, 83, 118, 120, 161, 258
Peshawar 180, 265, 345
Physiognomy 24-28, 365
Pioneers, Hazara 266-269
Polo, Marco 7, 118
Poladian 381
Poullada 66-67, 356, 362
Prejudice 361, 362, 366, 369, 370, 371
Prince Peter, of Greece and Denmark 341

- Q -

Qajar, Nasir-ud-Din Shah 172, 233-234
Qalandar (see also Calandar, Kalandar) 188, 190, 191, 217, 222, 230
Qambaree 386
Qandahar (see also Kandahar, Candahar) 4, 8, 11, 17, 52, 161-162, 209, 230, 234, 238, 249, 251

Qarabagh (see also Karabagh) 48, 49, 52, 72, 158, 164, 351
Qasim, Karim 260
Qazi Mohammad Askar (see also Qazi Askar) 192, 216, 218, 386
Qila Shadi 178
Qizilbash (see also Ghulam Khanah, Jawanshiri, Afshar) 129, 140, 164, 165, 166, 176, 192, 195, 196, 213, 227, 228, 234, 343, 344, 347, 365, 366, 396
Qudus, Sardar (see also Sardar Abdul Qudus) 189, 196, 197, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 231
Quetta (see also Shawl Quetta, Shal Kote) 49, 128, 130, 141-142, 172, 180, 253, 261, 262, 264, 267, 347, 389
Qum 127, 130
Qunduz (see also Kunduz) 51, 238, 243
Quran 130, 132, 136, 201, 224, 293
Qurluq 14, 31, 82

- R -

Racial Discrimination 359-361, 365
Racism 360, 361, 362
Radio-Ashtarabad 374
Radio-Doshanbeh 374
Radio-Kabul 374
Radio-Pakistan 374
Radio-Tashkent 374
Rafzi (see also Rafidi, Rafadhite) 123-124, 125
Raza Shah, The Great 259, 266, 391
Refugees Camp 67
Registan 210
Revolutionary Council 178
Revolutionary Guards 178
Rhometism 301, 302
Rish Safid 274, 276, 277, 352
Royal Harem (see also Harem) 213, 231, 250
Russia 155, 265, 269, 342
Russian Imperial Army 269
Russian Invasion 67, 259
Russians 5, 26, 67, 89, 177, 182, 194, 234, 269, 360, 387

- S -

Sabzwar 10, 40, 124-125
Sabzwar, Shia Republic of 125
Sadiqi-Neeli 387
Safavi, Abbas I, 118, 161-162
Safavi, Ismail 11
Safavid Dynasty 11, 120, 161
Saffarid 46
Sighan (see also Saiqan) 166, 167, 171, 240
Sarbadarid 10, 124, 125
Sakas 31, 46
Sakata 97-98, 99
Sakistan 46
Samarkand 10, 11, 160, 240
Samanid 46
Sang ya Buz, Custom of 352
Sang-e Masha 53, 59, 72
Sanskrit 37, 82, 87
Sarwari, Assadullah 178
Saudi Arabia 130, 143, 180, 238
Sayed 18, 83, 122, 124-125, 127, 137, 144, 212, 223, 230, 265, 302, 311, 316, 350
Sayed Raza 184
Sazman-e Nasir (see also Nasir, Nasr) 179, 381, 388, 392
Schools 366-368
Schurmann 4, 17, 19, 21, 26, 34, 39, 40, 97, 118, 161, 258, 310
Secret History 116-117, 324
Seh Pai 40, 195, 197
Seistan (see also Sistan) 3, 6, 9, 11, 14, 46

Seljuke Turks 47
Sepah-e Pasdaran (see also Sepah) 178
Shafai 123
Shah Jahan, Emperor of India 162
Shahristan 40, 55, 73, 278, 353, 385
Shahristani 26, 40, 109, 393
Shah Rukh 11, 159
Shah Shuja 23
Shia (see also Twelver, Asna Ashar) 18, 115, 116, 119, 123, 128-132, 139, 171, 176, 180, 233, 240, 261, 367, 373
Shahr-e Barbar 19, 74
Shahr-e Gholghola 78, 179
Shaibani, Shahi Beg 11, 81
Shaibanid Dynasty 11, 21
Shaikh Ali (see also Dai Kalan) 15, 31, 39, 184, 185
Shaman 117, 126
Shamanism 117-118, 126
Sharjah 266
Shat-al-Arab 261
Sher Ali, Amir 171, 182
Shibar 39, 128, 175
Shibar Pass 56-59
Shinwari 195, 202
Shirdagh 188, 217
Shola-e Jawed (see also Shola) 372
Shura-yi Ittifaq-i Islami (see also Shura) 177, 179, 388
Siberia 269
Sind 253
Slaves 253, 344
Slave Merchant, Afghans 243, 244, 343
Slave Merchant, Uzbeks 241, 343
Slave Markets 238, 242, 245, 360, 368
Slavery 238, 253, 360
Sofi Beg 242
Sorabi 380
Soviet 20, 66, 120, 161, 178, 180
Subuktagin 10, 46, 159
Sulaiman Range 17, 20
Sulaiman Khan 394
Sultan Ahmad 40, 322
Sun 116-117
Sunni (see also Hanafi) 115, 119, 120, 121, 124, 125, 127-131, 229, 232, 233, 240, 373
Superstition 148-150, 151
Surat al-Noorain 132
Sweden 266
Syria 261

- T -

Taji Khan 223, 227
Tajik 4, 15, 16, 17, 26, 81, 83, 89, 120, 126, 128, 140, 162, 174, 211, 343, 344, 347, 357
Takatoo Mountains 49
Takhta Bazar 343
Takya-Khana 115, 140, 146, 234, 289
Taqiya (see also Dissimulation) 139-140, 365
Taraki Tribe 190, 195, 209
Taraki, Nur Mohammad 176, 394
Taxation 350
Tehran 234
Thesiger 3, 66, 68
Tibetian 4, 5, 29
Tigris River 268
Timuri 26, 40
Timurkhanov 4, 17, 35, 67, 120, 161, 335
Tiri (see also Tirin) 50, 52, 216
Toghal 155
Transoxiana (see also Maver al Naher) 5, 7, 9, 10, 13, 25, 27, 31
Tuberculosis 301
Tudeh Party 180
Turi, Pashtun 116, 119, 232, 263
Turkman 15, 16, 121, 240, 244, 356, 357
Turkmani, Abdul Raouf 372, 380
Tusi, Nasir-al Din 122, 124, 134

- U -

Ujristan (see also Ajaristan, Ujuristan, Hujristan) 197, 198, 211, 232
Uljaitu 9, 13, 120, 123, 124, 152
Umayyid 46, 240
Unai Pass (see also Onai Pass, Onae Pass) 40, 51, 52, 175
United States 180, 266, 369
Urdu 83, 87
Uruzgan (see also Oruzgan) 39, 52, 68, 73, 75, 106, 177, 192, 197, 214, 215, 216, 217, 219, 220, 229, 230, 252, 276, 348
Usuli School 135
Uzbak (see also Uzbek) 26, 81, 151, 162, 240-243, 252, 341, 343, 356, 357

- V -

Vanbery 3, 119, 241
Viceroy, India 172, 234
Volga River 15

- W -

Wahabi 130
Wali Beg 180
Waras 179, 224, 228, 231, 381, 388
Wardak 18, 49, 53, 68, 208, 211, 348
Wardak, Guljan 389
Watchtower 272
Waziristan 268
West Indies 249
Western Africa 238
Wood 138, 240, 243, 351
Wood-Walker 26

- X - Y -

Yak Aolang (see also Yak Walang) 18, 26, 73, 137, 216, 224, 228, 242, 302, 336, 353, 371
Yar Mohammad, Hakim of Herat 164
Yasa, Laws of 137
Yassaur 9, 13
Yazdan Bakhsh, Lady 395
Yazdan Bakhsh, Mir 165, 166, 167, 308, 351, 396
Yazdan Khan, Sardar 389, 396
Yodeling 107
Yosuf Beg 396
Yugoslavia 375

- Z -

Zabul 75-76
Zabulistan (see also Zavulistan) 8, 11, 46
Zaidi 116
Zainab, Ali's Daughter 143, 146
Zaman Shah 163-164
Zamindawar 46, 82, 162
Zaoli 38, 197, 201, 209, 211, 218-219
Zawar 143, 212, 223, 265
Zhob 265, 268
Ziaratgah 144, 145, 146, 289, 293
Zulfiqar, The Sword 205

About the Author

Hassan Poladi, born December 1944 is a second generation Pakistani Hazara. He grew up and received his basic education in Quetta, Pakistan. He received his Bachelor of Science degree with honors from the University of Sind, Pakistan, and his Masters degree from the University of the Philippines, Manila. After working for the provincial government of Baluchistan, Poladi came to the United States on a research assistant fellowship and in 1975 he received his Masters degree from Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.

He is a naturalized American citizen and for the past twelve years has lived with his family in Northern California. He has traveled extensively throughout Asia, Europe and North America. In addition to his native tongue, Hazaragi, he speaks five other languages. He is a freelance writer and **"The Hazaras"** is his first book.